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ABSTRACT

This study, funded by the Ford Foundation and the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB), represents a two and one-half year effort to compile information based on questionnaires, surveys, field studies, and staff and student interviews on the nature, problems, and successes of collegiate compensatory programs for disadvantaged youth. Ten chapters focus on such areas as access to higher education, new students in old institutions, current programs and practices in compensatory education, a review of the literature on the transition from school to college, financial aid for higher education, ethnic studies, other curriculum modifications and remedial practices, reactions of students and college personnel, case studies, and a critical summary encompassing the problems and status of their solution. A series of model programs, said to have been selected because of their representativeness of institutions of higher education or their positive, imaginative, or promising practices, are briefly described. An annotated bibliography citing 98 documents, arranged in the categories of civil rights and access to higher education, programs and practices, characteristics of disadvantaged students, college admissions and guidance, the Negro college, and general literature, is provided. An addendum to the bibliography and additional references are also included. (AM)

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REPORT OF THE STUDY OF COLLEGIATE COMPENSATORY PROGRAMS FOR DISADVANTAGED YOUTH

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Portions of Chapter II were contributed by Gus Chavez, David G. Hilligoss, Isaura Santiago, and Offie C. Wortham. Effie Bynum, Leon Denmark, David P. Garrahan, Bev Hamlar, Anne Lewis, Carol Lopate, James McGinnis, and Offie C. Wortham were research assistants responsible for the conduct of field studies, and the introductory case study on San Mateo College was prepared by Lopate. Garrahan was responsible for the final reduction, analysis, and summarization of survey data. Following the departure of Thomas, Bynum assumed responsibility for project management. Throughout the project Lewis has carried major responsibility for editorial development. For these many efforts the authors would like to express their appreciation.

Introduction

It is the field of education, including higher education, which was most concretely affected by the pressure for social change which characterized the decade of the sixties. Although this field has not been radically changed, there is almost no aspect which has remained untouched by the concerns and events of this period. Along with a heightened concern for civil rights specifically concentrating on improving the position of minority group and poor people in the society came, for many, a broader awareness that many of the society's institutions were insufficiently responsive to the needs of those whom they should serve. This greater concern for human rights came to be reflected in increased concerns for the meaning of life, the immorality of war, the moral contradictions of complex societies, and the roles of individuals as participants in the decisions which influence their lives. These concerns led to varieties of unrest on college campuses, as the universities came under attack by students who sought change according to their ideas of a better social order. Colleges varied in their efforts to respond to these demands, but many took steps toward humanizing and democratizing university life With the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, in the spring of 1968, and the subsequent violent expressions of protest and anger across the nation, the level of effort at democratization of college opportunity was visibly raised. During the school year 1968-69 several institutions greatly increased their efforts. Many which had no programs organized new efforts. From the plethora of activity it soon became evident that some effort should be made to document this activity. As a result this study was begun under a grant to Teachers College, Columbia University, from the Ford Foundation and supplementary support from the College Entrance Examination Board.

By the time the study was initiated, there had been a lessening of some of the frenetic action which had followed King's death. For a number of reasons, schools displayed cautiousness and protectiveness in their programs, along with hesitancy to invite serious examination. As a result, much of the information we have gathered tended to be vague and indefinite; we cannot even be sure we have a good estimate of the amount of activity taking place. Our first inventory of programs involved a large mailing to a comprehensive list of institutions all over the country. Only a fraction of these responded to the simple question of whether they actually had a special program for disadvantaged students; and an even smaller sample provided us with more detailed information in response to a second questionnaire. In addition to compiling the information it was possible to get through these surveys, field studies were conducted at some twenty schools across the country. Field staff interviewed students, staff, and others concerned with such programs, trying to report in a more descriptive way the nature of the programs' operation, and some of the problems and successes they were having.

Now, some two and a half years later, what initially seemed to be a significant effort somehow seems much less important. To many, including the authors of this report and many of today's university students, it seems that revolutionary changes for the dispossessed are not likely to come through higher education. In a sense, it is possible that some of these changes should not come in this way; it may be desirable that some of the social purposes of college attendance be met through other agencies. In other words, credentialling, politicalization, and the period of relatively unrestrained freedom which serves as a sort of extended adolescence for many young people, all these ends may be better served in different ways, such as expanding the function of elementary and secondary education and enhancing that of the newly developing community college. There is no doubt that radical improvements are needed in elementary and secondary education, not only for the basic purpose of producing a literate society, but also for serving some of the social purposes previously associated with college attendance. With the radical changes in youth culture and the lowered age at which young people mature socially, secondary schools must become more concerned with the processes of politicalization and of transition from youth culture into young adult life. The brief period of exemption from adult cares while exercising some adult prerogatives has already become a part of the high school scene. In the comprehensive high school we have already begun to combine the general education function with career development functions.

The upgrading and the broadening of access to continued public education, such as the community college, could result in the community college assuming responsibility for the continuation of these processes, their consolidation, and the credentialing function. However, at the same time as the society moves toward much-needed democratization of these kinds of opportunities, there is good reason to believe there is pressing need for movement in a seemingly opposite direction, toward the cultivation of excellence and intellectuality in a smaller segment of the population. Here, too, there should be a concern for democratization, in the form of new means of selecting this segment; too often in the past, members of the intellectual "elite" have also been members of economic and social elites, a coincidence for which there is no valid explanation in a truly democratic society.

The experience of almost three years has led some observers to these kinds of conclusions. The sometimes frustrating, sometimes successful efforts of this past period to find new directions for higher education seem to the authors of this report to indicate a need, not for greater homogeneity, or opportunity for the same education for all, but rather for a new diversity of opportunity, a search for new ways of better defining and fulfilling all the purposes of higher education appropriately.

The pages which follow describe some of the experiences and observations which have led to these conclusions. The story of the San Mateo experience contains basic elements which seem to occur on campus after campus. In succeeding chapters, we have examined some of these elements. Much of what is said is based upon impressionistic rather than concrete data, for, aside from the difficulty in collecting such data, it seemed wise to go beyond a limited, factual survey format to get at what was really happening in this important period. In addition, the report contains a variety of viewpoints, for many people with varied types of expertise have lent us their assistance. In particular, the case studies are the reports of a variety of people who visited the schools which are discussed. A group of writers of varied ethnicity contributed their knowledge to a discussion of some of the minority groups who have been the object of these efforts. The extensive bibliographic material is also the result of the work of a number of people. Certainly the one clear fact which emerges is that there have been a great many different efforts in the field, with widely varying approaches and successes. If it all seems varied and complex, if it lends itself to almost no satisfying conclusions, we can only feel that this is evidence that we have done our job of reporting with objectivity and reasonable accuracy.

Chapter I. Access to Higher Education

The problem of access to higher education for students who, because of social background, economic status, or ethnic caste, do not fit into the traditional, predominantly white Anglo-Saxon Protestant college population is not a concern first born in the nineteen sixties, though it was definitely popularized in that decade of heightened social concern. However, for over a century before that time, scattered efforts had been made to provide higher education for various minority groups in the United States. Concerned churchmen established colleges to aid in the advancement and assimilation of Catholic immigrants, especially the Irish. Jewish institutions helped to perpetuate the Jewish tradition of veneration for intellectual endeavor. Even before 1860, some few blacks were being educated in special institutions, though none of these began granting degrees until after the Civil War. During Reconstruction, the movement to provide higher education for black students grew as a result of the efforts of the Freedman's Bureau and of the religious missionary groups. At the height of this development, there were almost two hundred colleges founded to educate freed slaves, although only about half this number survived by the turn of the century. Many of these, too, like many other small colleges of the time, were offering little more than secondary education and technical skills training in this period before the public secondary school became generally available.

As a result of the circumstances of their founding, as well as a reflection of hard social realities, these schools were oriented primarily toward producing educational and religious missionaries to the black population (in the case of schools established by religious groups) or teachers for black schools, in a political-economic situation in which college-educated blacks could obtain few, if any, other professional positions.

After 1890, more public institutions for blacks began to be established as some states began to use Land Grant College funds to build separate state schools for black students. The state legislatures, however, were hardly enthusiastic in their allocations of funds or in the establishment of programs at such schools. They became, like the private black colleges of that period, largely teacher training institutions and technical training centers.

This narrowness of focus, along with other characteristics commonly noted, has led to much harsh criticism of these schools. This viewpoint is represented by the Jencks and Riesman article on "The American Negro College" (1967). Among the shortcomings they discuss are the damaging effects of white control of many of these schools, including segregated facilities for black and white faculty, as well as patronizing attitudes toward students and their communities. The authors also discuss the extreme conservatism supposedly often found among black faculty and administrators, who were especially vulnerable to hostile reaction from white trustees or the surrounding white community, since their professional opportunities outside of the college were scarce. These same faculty members are accused of excessive promotion and admiration of white, middle class culture and values to the point of contempt for black life styles and background--again, often a manifestation of the practical job insecurity of college staff; the schools are accused of maintaining an almost hypocritical Puritanism born partly of the concern for producing students who could "fit in" at higher levels of white society and partly, again, of the desire not to antagonize the white community and founders who made possible or tolerated the school's existence. Some schools, Jencks and Riesman assert, display a contempt for students which has led to extreme punitiveness, a petty sort of tyranny which has been handed down to those students who go on to become teachers themselves.

It should be noted that reaction to this critical appraisal was vigorous. A subsequent issue of the Harvard Educational Review (Wright, et al., 1967) published responses by prominent black educators which not only pointed out factual errors in the Jencks and Riesman piece but also criticized it for its unsubstantiated, subjective, impressionistic viewpoint and pointed out that the article could lead to a stereotyping of black higher education institutions as damaging as the past stereotyping of blacks themselves. Several of the authors noted the valuable contributions made by black colleges against tremendous odds, citing especially the critical lack of funds. Most of the criticisms made by Jencks and Riesman, the authors of the reply point out, could just as legitimately be made of many white institutions.

Nevertheless, other studies have focused on the characteristics of these particular institutions, and in many cases offer constructive suggestions for improvement of higher education resources for black youth. Among the more critical and pessimistic reports is that of Jaffe, et al.(1968) which includes a system of rating the black institutions studied on a good-fair-poor basis, as determined by a group of six anonymous "experts" in the field. The authors conclude that the majority of the institutions fall into the "poor" category, and also note that these schools seem to be the ones which are increasing their enrollments. While conceding that most of the schools considered do seem to be concerned with improving their quality, de-emphasizing teaching training, recruiting new types of students--including whites and students from geographically distant locations--and developing more effective ways of dealing with educationally deprived students, the report recommends that no greater amounts of aid be given to those colleges rated "poor" or even to most of those rated "fair," since the probable improvement does not seem worth the investment, in the view of the authors. They indicate their faith in a broadened system of public, two-year colleges as a more effective answer to the educational problems of black and other disadvantaged students.

Such studies as those of McGrath (1965) and Crossland (1971) also concede the historical weaknesses of these colleges, but conclude that with the proper amounts of financial assistance and some improvements in curriculum, services, and educational focus, they can be made into more effective educational institutions. Both reports cite the need for a greater degree of long-range planning, inter-institutional cooperation, and perhaps even merger of some institutions. In a special report prepared by its Commission on Higher Educational Opportunity in the South, the Southern Regional Education Board in 1967 called for the establishment of a central organization for the purpose of studying and proposing long-range solutions for the problems of higher education for Southern black students. Educators such as Zinn (1966) and the LeMelles (1969) take a far more positive position in their evaluations of the black colleges as they now exist, though admitting that many such schools do share the weaknesses pointed out in other studies. Their expressed hope is that, by appropriate recognition and substantial aid, the schools may vastly enlarge their potential as unique institutions for dealing with the special traditions,benefits, problems, and future prospects for blacks and other Third World peoples in American and world society.

Some of the common criticisms of predominantly black colleges suggest that the critics think that the only function of the college is to transmit knowledge and foster high level intellectual and cultural development. A close look at the history and condition of higher education in the United States reveals that colleges serve other purposes. True, the enhancement of intellectuality and professional training are among the more prominent formal functions, but credentialling, technical training, social intercourse, politicalization, and consciousness raising are very prominent informal functions. If credit were given for the extent to which the black colleges achieve these purposes, some of the very negative estimates would have to be revised. If the black colleges did not exist, who would teach black elementary and secondary school children, who would serve the black church, how many physicians and dentists and lawyers would be available to serve the black communities? From what source would we have come by the current crop of black leadership in almost every field of endeavor? The program of substantial financial aid to ten of these black institutions recently announced by the Ford Foundation shows a recognition of these and other contributions, and of the need for their continuation and strengthening, and may provide an increased opportunity for realizing the special potential of these institutions.

The prospects for integrated education for black college students were improved somewhat during the 1930's and 1940's as many black teachers, motivated partly by racially imposed salary differentials, went on to graduate work to obtain more salary credits, and began to increase the group of black teachers with postgraduate training. Some of these people were attracted to the faculties of black colleges, where they provided new blood and, in some cases, new intellectual stimulation. In addition, the period saw a rise in concern for civil rights, and this concern provided a livelier atmosphere on the campuses.

In the late 1940's, the establishment of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students opened the door to new educational opportunities, at least for academically talented black students. Through the activities of NSSFNS, more prestigious colleges and universities began searching for academically successful black youngsters and helping them to gain admittance to, and an education from, predominantly white schools which they might not otherwise have considered accessible. NSSFNS also joined with other educational groups, including the College Entrance Examination Board, in programs designed to raise the educational aspirations of black youngsters. One result of this concern was the Demonstration Guidance Program, later the Higher Horizons Program in New York City schools, which combined elements such as "cultural enrichment" activities and special guidance beginning as early as third grade. The Demonstration Guidance Program showed marked effectiveness in reducing the dropout rate and increasing the number of college-bound students. Its expanded successor did not fare as well, in part because of poor quality control in the program and in part because it was by no means the complete answer to the problem.

At the same time as more black undergraduates were being admitted to traditionally white colleges, some persistent Southern black college graduates were being provided with graduate education in Northern universities at the expense of their home states, as a result of those states' unwillingness to admit black students to their own universities. The common tactic was to provide tuition grants for the student to take to other universities, usually in the North, whose admissions policies were not racially exclusive. Many of these students received degrees from Teachers College at Columbia, the School of Education at New York University, and some Midwestern state universities, and these schools made special efforts to accommodate the influx of black students from the South, including sending faculty and staff to southern cities to conduct courses there. Lest these arrangements be misunderstood as entirely gratuitous, the tuition fees from these exiled students were by no means unwelcome at these and other institutions. Some of the growth and national influence of these universities is directly related to the heavy representation of Southern black students and the segregationist subsidies they brought with them. At length, however, this sort of practice had to yield to increasing pressure, and more black state schools, including so-called graduate and professional schools of highly dubious quality, were established. Even this move only delayed the inevitable, for finally, in 1950, the Supreme Court declared segregated graduate and professional schools illegal, and after the 1954 Brown decision the legal basis for separate public education was, on paper, destroyed.

The Russians were responsible for the next major landmark in the democratization of American education, for their launching of the first space satellite, Sputnik I, in 1957, stirred up national concern for improving the educational system. The National Defense Education Act made available vastly increased amounts of government money to enable schools to admit talented students and help them finance their education. Minority groups, including blacks, were viewed as good sources of such untapped talent, and increasing numbers of them were encouraged to go to white institutions.

In his report on equal educational opportunity, Coleman (1966) reported that in 1965 there were 148 colleges throughout the country whose student populations were more than five percent, and less than fifty percent, black. This representation hardly signified equal opportunity, however. Coleman also found that approximately 4.6%

of all college students at that time were black, with over half attending predominantly black institutions in the South and Southwest. His figures showed that there were 207,316 black college students in the country, while 4,232,000 white students were attending college. Other ethnic groups were represented by 51,855 college students. By 1967, Jencks and Riesman estimated that approximately half of all black undergraduates were enrolled in schools other than the traditionally black colleges. In a recent Ford Foundation report, Crossland (1971) estimates that, in the fall of 1970, there were some 470,000 black students enrolled in some form of higher education, and that perhaps two-thirds of them were in predominantly white schools.

It seems then that some progress is being made in broadening access to college for minority groups, at least for blacks. However, as promises are made and expectations rise, colleges and universities find themselves faced with a growing problem of providing access for these increasing numbers of students from non-traditional backgrounds, and in many cases of somehow compensating for academic differences and deficiencies which second-class status and second-class education have produced.

It is difficult at the present time to determine and accurately predict the magnitude of the new population to be served or of the problems which they and the institutions will create for each other. Although there are more black students in higher education now than in previous years, these estimates are misleading for several reasons. Crossland (1971) notes that if minority group youth were to receive representation in higher education proportional to that of the white population, the enrollment of minority group students would have to be more than doubled. In addition, it is true that many of these students are in newly created community colleges which are rapidly becoming extensions of the public school, a trend which may be postponing by two years the ultimate problem of access. When minority enrollment in community colleges is subtracted from the total of such students in higher education, the proportion of minority group students in predominantly white colleges is greatly reduced. When minority group representation in the traditionally prestigious white colleges is examined, none can claim exemplary achievement.

Although population growth projections indicate a decline in the size of the age catchments from which college students will be drawn, it is not clear that this decline will be reflected in reduced numbers of students seeking higher education or reduced numbers of minority group students. Many college administrators feel that the number of candidates will continue to increase. It is entirely possible that with more privileged students finding other avenues for self-development and expression outside formal higher education, and disadvantaged students more and more insisting on the democratization of the baccalaureate credential, we may see marked shifts in the proportions of these subpopulations represented in collegiate student bodies. Even now in some segments of youth culture, higher status is attributed to free education, self determined and informally derived, than to the formal education mediated or coerced through the university. In any event, it seems clear that added to a great number of other problems, institutions of higher education will be increasingly called upon to adapt their capabilities to the service of a far wider variety of students than in the past.

Once an institution has made a commitment to respond in some way to the pressure for democratization of higher education, whether it be a pioneering, large-scale, radically imaginative effort or the barest minimum of tokenism to take the pressure off, the first problem to be encountered is that of getting these new kinds of students into the school. As a result of this problem, various modifications in traditional admissions practices have been tried by many institutions. The first attempt was the search among minority groups to recruit those young people whose skin color or social status might make them different from the school's traditional student body, but whose academic talent made them able to compete on a nearly equal basis with other incoming students. This sort of approach, as we have noted, was pioneered by the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students.

For many reasons, however, this sort of talent search failed to produce large enough numbers of exceptional students who were able to measure up to traditional admissions standards. Some schools began to experiment with modified requirements, often giving more weight to personal interviews or to recommendations of teacher or counselor than to pre-college test scores or grade point averages.

The assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968, followed by the outpourings of rage from black communities all over the country, forced the leaders of various institutions in the society to show some effort toward becoming more responsive to the rights of the oppressed, and many institutions felt compelled to expand these experimental efforts into more visible commitments. As expectations and demands for equality rose among disadvantaged groups, many youths seeking access to higher education became dissatisfied with these methods, which depended so heavily on the whim and good will of a few individuals in power in the institutions. One result was increased pressure on some public institutions for open admission. Other schools responded to the growing dissatisfaction by instituting expanded programs for disadvantaged or minority group students, incorporating post-admission features to facilitate academic success for the students involved. However, the concept of higher education as something other than the elitist, meritocratic privilege it had long been considered was growing rapidly. Even though limited in the resources they have been willing or able to allocate to the effort, few of the four-year colleges and universities have failed to revise their admissions procedures to include a broader range of students. In addition, the establishment of many new, more universally accessible community colleges all over the country suggests that soon at least two years of college work may be added to what is conceived of as public education.

This change in the composition of the typical college student body implies many problems, and calls for many changes in traditional college teaching and learning styles, as well as more general changes in collegiate life styles. Some educators have pointed out that the source of the problems and disparities which are being encountered lies not in the colleges, but in the pre-college education which disadvantaged children receive. The problem is very clearly illustrated by the range of Scholastic Aptitude scores produced by the graduates of the national secondary education system who are admitted to college; they range all the way from the middle 200's into the high 700's. Although Astin (1969) has found low-level correlations between these scores and success in completing work for the baccalaureate degree, if these scores are in any way a reflection of the success of United States elementary and secondary schools in the academic preparation of their students, it is a condemnation that many of their students function at seriously deficient levels. When one adds the fact that it is only students completing academic high schools or academic programs in high school who take the SAT, the magnitude of this problem is shown to be even greater, since few of the vocational, technical, or non-academic high schools make any claim to preparation in general education.

When we turn to a concern for disadvantaged populations and the current effort at universalizing access so as to include these students, we have as an additional problem the fact that many students from low-income and minority group populations are diverted from the academic stream as early as third or fourth grades by archaic tracking procedures. Involved in the task of making higher education available to these students at the tenth, eleventh, or twelfth grade level is not just a problem of inefficient and inferior academic preparation, but, in some cases, the fact that many haven't even *had* academic preparation. In trying to make college attendance a meaningful opportunity for many of these students, one is almost forced to offer a second course of elementary and secondary education in order to bring them to a level where they are ready for the college experience.

In addition to the widely varying levels of student achievement and quality of prior school experience, there is the relatively ignored problem of wide variation in characteristics of students to be served. Despite the long tradition of concern with individual differences, the elementary schools, high schools, and certainly the colleges, have done little to accommodate the design of learning experiences to variations in cognitive style, temperamental traits, categories of interest, or cultural background. In the absence of this kind of practice, students at the young adult level may be hampered by a well justified lack of interest in learning, or, even worse, may be so threatened by previous patterns of failure that it is extremely difficult for them to continue. This problem, of course, is by no means limited to poor and minority group students, but afflicts many young people from all levels of society throughout the educational system. Certainly the poverty of American public education is being exposed from a number of different directions currently, and the recent Carnegie study (Silberman, 1970) has noted still a further source of failure in the affective area, pointing out a joyless, stifling atmosphere which prevails in many classrooms and which, by destroying the pleasure of learning, surely contributes to the depressing record of academic failure.

Certainly it would be absurd to try to blame the universities for the poor preparation which so many of their would-be students receive before the college years. However, for many reasons, the pressure is being put on them to help remedy the situation, and they must somehow respond. The nature of their response, the needs of these new students, and the complex interactions between related competing processes and forces are the foci of this report.

Chapter II: New Students, Old Institutions

The problem for the university today, as we are beginning to see, is one of adopting to a barrage of changes which derive from those many which are taking place at dizzying speed in the society at large. Colleges and universities are no longer being allowed to assure themselves the comfortable homogeneity of student population which each school has been allowed to perpetuate for itself in the past and which can make the functioning of the school less complicated, as well as a less accurate reflection of the real world in which it exists. At the same time, new demands are being made on the institution by many forces in society which are calling into question its very purposes, as well as its methods of functioning.

All of these changes are epitomized in the new varieties of students which the college finds itself confronting. Even those students from backgrounds which traditionally produce college-oriented youngsters seem much brighter, more politically aware, and much more demanding with regard to what they expect to gain from higher education. Whether because it seems to be one of only a few sources of hope for social change or because it happens to be the most immediately vulnerable institution, the university is a prime target of those students who seek to put their ideals into action and to have them reflected in institutional change. Such students refuse to be merely passive subjects, acted upon by the college and turned out in assembly line fashion as its products. They seek instead a reciprocal interaction, in which both they and the institutions are changed, and share in the process of becoming, a relationship which necessitates a drastic rethinking of traditional educational roles and methods.

At the same time as colleges and universities are trying to meet the challenge presented by these changing types of traditional college students, they are also faced with the task of adjusting their resources to meet the needs of the new populations of non-traditional students who are demanding an equal opportunity to participate in higher education. These students are doubly challenging, for many of them share the characteristics and concerns which make the traditional students different from their predecessors, and at the same time many of them come to college with a whole new set of social and academic assets and problems with which the school must be prepared to deal.

Identification of Target Population

It is not the intention of this report to statistically describe or document the well-established fact that particular segments of the American population cannot compete for college seats on the basis of traditional criteria, namely, financial resources, standardized test scores, and pre-college public school achievement. On each count the literature is replete with evidence establishing the interrelatedness of minority group status and access to higher education as it has been limited by these criteria. It should be clear to all observers that for many young people, ethnic and/or socioeconomic status have functioned as barriers to opportunities in higher education.

The "non-traditional" students who are the subject of this report include those individuals of college age who by virtue of skin color, cultural background and socio-economic status have been historically denied their right to participate in the mainstream of American higher education. A disproportionate and overwhelming majority of these disadvantaged students have not enjoyed the advantage of any form of post-secondary education. Moreover, it is a well-documented fact that their public elementary and secondary school experiences have been of a markedly inferior quality when contrasted with that of their white middle-class counterparts.

During the decade of the sixties dissatisfaction with this egregious waste of human resources and talent reached explosive proportions. The political-social order of this nation responded, with reflex-action, to a crisis which threatened the system. This self-protecting response can be seen in any ethnic and geographic analysis of fund allocation and program development for minority youth. Specifically, it has been the black student from the urban ghetto, the most potentially troublesome area, who has benefited most from these crash efforts to "insure an equality of educational opportunity." With few exceptions, the recent compensatory developments in higher education have hardly touched disadvantaged youth of other minority groups.

Only recently has there been a systematic attempt to collect from colleges and universities a body of hard data on the participation of various ethnic groups in higher education. At the present time, there are no definitive data regarding the enrollment of minorities in higher education. While statistics are frequently reported in the literature, they must be viewed with caution because of sampling problems, inappropriate questionnaire design, incomplete returns, and respondee indifference.

The Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in an effort to enforce Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964,has conducted national surveys of undergraduate enrollment by ethnic group in federally funded institutions of higher education. In their efforts, however, they have met with these same difficulties. Since many of the colleges and universities have not kept enrollment records that are broken down according to race, about half of the questionnaires were returned without a racial breakdown. The incomplete replies were returned to the institutions, and this time most of them did report racial counts. But in many cases, the data were based on estimates or "visual surveys." There is also some indication that there may have been an inconsistent response to the category labeled "Negro." Likewise, the subsuming of

Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and others under the general category "Spanish surnamed" has presented obvious difficulties. All of these difficulties have contributed to create vast discrepancies among surveys of the higher education population, including those of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and those of the 1970 U.S. Census.

It is currently believed that approximately six percent of all students enrolled in American colleges and universities are black, whereas almost twelve percent of the college-age population in the United States is black.(See Crossland, 1971.) While it appears that there has been a significant increase in the enrollment of black students during the past several years, it should be noted that approximately one-third of these students are enrolled in predominantly Negro colleges--which represent only four percent of the current American undergraduate institutions. The past decade has witnessed remarkable progress, in a relative sense, with regard to the college enrollment of black students. Yet, it is clear that black students, let alone members of other minority groups, are still not abundantly represented in the "mainstream" of American higher education. Much has been accomplished; much remains to be accomplished.

One is overwhelmed by the complete inadequacy of existing data relative to the participation of other minorities in higher education. National statistics provide only rough indices of the dimensions of different minority group needs and educational status. Clearly, there has been a tendency to ignore or to subsume other ethnic groups into a common minority bag. Nothing could be further from the truth; nothing could be more brutal. This study has identified the major "forgotten minorities"--Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans--and attempts to focus attention on their differing needs, problems, and achievements as they relate to higher education.

PUERTO RICANS

According to the United States Census, in 1960 the Puerto Rican population of the mainland U.S. was 856,000, of whom 80 percent lived in New York City. It is expected that the 1970 Census will show that the mainland population has increased to approximately 1.5 million. While the bulk of the Puerto Rican population has been concentrated in New York City, there is evidence of a shift in the population out of the city. The best estimate at this time is that the New York City area contains about 60 percent of the mainland population. Concentrations of Puerto Ricans in Chicago, Philadelphia, Hoboken, and Newark are increasing.

The black and Puerto Rican populations have endured many of the same inequities. Consequently, much of the literature on minority problems seems to assume that solving the problems of the black student will at the same time solve those of the Puerto Rican student. In many areas of education this is true, but it is also true that Puerto Rican students face unique educational problems which demand unique solutions. The distinctive educational problems of Puerto Rican students are of great severity, as evidenced in the Coleman Report (1966) which showed that they lag behind both urban whites and urban blacks in verbal ability, reading comprehension and math. This condition of educational deprivation is reflected in the Puerto Ricans' participation in higher education. While the status of Puerto Ricans in higher education falls far short of the national norm, it should be noted that their access to colleges and universities has not been significantly enhanced by external sources of assistance. Compensatory programs have had only slight influence on the Puerto Rican population; their present status has largely been a function of their own efforts.

Inasmuch as the majority of Puerto Ricans reside in the city of New York, a description of their condition here is reasonably reflective of the larger population. Today there are over 245,000 Puerto Rican students in the public school system of New York City--the city with the largest and oldest Puerto Rican community on the mainland. Of these about 45,000 are in high school, yet only 7,000 graduate each year--the majority with general and vocational diplomas. Most significant in terms of their future and the future of their community is the fact that, of those who do graduate, less than 10 percent seek a formal education beyond high school, as compared to the national average of 50 percent. Even those who seek to enter college find doors barred to them by inappropriate pre-college studies, low scores on standardized tests, or overwhelming financial needs.

Self-help organizations to increase higher education opportunities for Puerto Ricans have come into existence in the last ten years. With the help of these groups, such as ASPIRA, Inc., the number of New York - area Puerto Rican students going on to college has increased over the last few years.

Gaining admission to a college is, of course, not the end of the Puerto Rican student's educational problems. Approximately two-thirds of these students admitted to college have dropped out by their junior year. A part of this problem may stem from an attitude on the part of the colleges that the problem is in fact solved after recruitment and admission. Schools which take pains to recruit effectively in the Puerto Rican community may fail to provide the kinds of support the students need--adequate financial aid, advisers who either are Puerto Rican themselves or have a good understanding of Puerto Rican problems.

The Puerto Rican student who, despite the many obstacles in his way, finally makes it to college, brings with him more than the usual anxieties of any freshman entering college. He comes from a family whose financial needs continue to be dire; he has had relatively little contact with other socioeconomic groups; and his high school preparation is, in most cases, inadequate. As a result, too many of his kind drop out before they finish.

The exact number is unknown because no study, over a sustained length of time, has ever been conducted. Some colleges have even refused to give recognition to the Puerto Rican and his special needs, many classifying him ethnically under a vague category of "other" or "Spanish Speaking." The underlying irony is the fact that so many of these youths are not "Spanish Speaking," as a result of total cultural suppression in the school system. Finally, no college has offered any statistics on the retention or "drop-out" rates of the Puerto Rican. However, the average national drop-out rate is 45 percent for entering freshman classes, and the many factors working against the success of Puerto Rican students seem to assure that their rate will be much higher, tragic waste especially in view of the fact that the total number of Puerto Rican students in college is so small, and the number of professionals in the community significantly less, so that the loss of any individual student is the community's loss. Some reasons for the high drop-out rate can be easily surmised: lack of counseling; lack of Puerto Rican staff who can understand and relate to the Puerto Rican student's problems; financial need; social isolation on campus where he is one of only a few Puerto Ricans; lack of programs in college aimed at language and communications weaknesses in the student for whom English is a second language; alienation from bureaucratic structures which are unresponsive and intimidating; academic deficiencies fostered by disadvantaged status; the student's profound conflicts and confusions over his academic capabilities fostered by the image others have of him and the bad taste of past defeat; family pressures, needs and conflicts; conflicts between the needs of his community and what he may perceive as the irrelevance of his studies to his life and his community's needs.

Services currently available to Puerto Ricans are few. Many colleges have opened their doors but have been either unwilling or unable to meet the special educational needs of the Puerto Rican. The Puerto Rican is without doubt a minority in the majority of special programs. Compensatory education in those institutions which have recognized the need and attempted to provide services has failed in most cases for various reasons. At the core, however, is lack of understanding of the Puerto Rican.

Many of the college personnel who are mandated to work with Puerto Rican youth have never met a Puerto Rican, much less gained any understanding of the peculiarities of his culture and race. This problem, however, is not so easily solved. The number of Puerto Rican professionals is very small, and the ability of the colleges to utilize their services is even more limited. In the area of counseling, many programs have taken a very "liberal" approach. They maintain that counseling systems should be totally unstructured and a student should only visit a counselor when he feels the need. The problem is, however, that most Puerto Rican youths have to be sought out as a result of cultural norms and their experiences in elementary and secondary schools. Cultural patterns of the Puerto Rican family do not reinforce a student speaking to an adult about his problems; on the contrary, parents are authority figures and discussion on the part of offspring is often limited to respectful "yes's." Also, the sophistication of America's middle class might permit a middle class American to see a psychologist; however, for the ghetto youth he is still often seen as a "head shrinker."

Compensatory education in the area of language and expression has also been limited in its success because colleges have failed to deal with the problems of the Puerto Rican youth whose introduction to English at some point in his development took place in an elementary or secondary school system which failed to respond to the needs of bilingual youth, causing a significant setback in developmental processes and language learning. It requires an expert in bilingualism to develop and administer compensatory programs.

Tutoring services, like counseling programs, often fail to live up to the hopes of program administrators. Some college personnel cannot understand why students stop attending tutoring sessions or often just stop asking for the services. According to students weaknesses in tutoring programs often lie in the failure of the school to train student tutors and to monitor the content and quality of tutoring sessions.

Compensatory programs must begin to address the needs of the Puerto Rican if the present tragic drop-out rates are to be curtailed. In order to work toward more effectiveness in this area, program personnel must make an effort to know and understand the specific cultural characteristics and lifestyles, the problems and advantages, of their Puerto Rican students.

NATIVE AMERICANS

The population of Native Americans, or American Indians as referred to in most past literature, is steadily increasing at a growth rate above that of the general population. Their precise number depends on how one defines American Indian. The 1960 Census reported 508,675 American Indians. Other estimates place their number at approximately 700,000. For the most part, the Native American population is concentrated essentially in thirteen states, with Arizona, Montana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and South Dakota having the largest representation.

On June 2, 1924, Congress conferred citizenship on all Indians born in the United States who were not already in that category. This act of Congress, however, was not sufficient to assure Native Americans the rights and privileges associated with citizenship. It is becoming a better known fact that Native Americans represent one of the most deprived groups in this country in terms of education, employment, housing and health. It is virtually impossible to get hard data descriptive of the Native American plight, but it is not uncommon to hear of family incomes of $1500 or unemployment rates as high as 60 and 70 percent, and of a life expectancy of not much more than forty years. There can be little question that the majority of Native Americans, largely dependent on seasonal work and welfare, have been denied full participation in the mainstream of American society.

There is a considerable body of literature on the Native American, but most of what has been written deals with individual tribes and folklore, and little attention has been addressed to the myriad problems which arise from the condition of Native Americans as a group. Certainly, part of the difficulty is a reflection of the fact that Native Americans are divided into very heterogeneous groups of people. These groups have developed different social, political, economic, and religious structures depending on their location, resources, and degree of adaptation to white American society. It follows that any attempt to deal with the educational problems of Native Americans must recognize the diversity of this population within the context of a comprehensive view of the many forces and conditions which commonly affect their development.

In terms of education there are specific problems which are peculiar to Native Americans. For example, one of the principal factors behind the relatively low school attendance of Native Americans is that the traditional educational system causes the individual child to be removed from his tribe and exposed to a different system of values. The schools typically foster competition among individuals, whereas the Native American society is based on a cooperative spirit. Moreover, there are many other differences in temperament: Native Americans are seldom emotionally demonstrative, and they cultivate the ability to endure frustration without showing it; such characteristics must be understood and taken into consideration in the planning of special educational programs. Unfortunately, past efforts have been guided by the notion that "Indians" must be assimilated into the larger society. And as a result, more than half of the Native Americans who make it into high school do not remain through graduation. Those who do "make it" and go on to higher education face severe social and emotional adjustment problems in a strange environment. Obviously, this condition is further compounded by the fact that most Native Americans have been inadequately prepared academically to deal with college work.

It is important to understand the relationship of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the plight of the Native Americans. With the expansion of white settlement in the west in the early 19th century came the realization that Native American culture and the white man were incompatible. This incompatibility extended to conflicting values, attitudes, and life styles and finally manifested itself in hostilities which resulted in slaughters of Native Americans amounting to nothing less than genocide. By 1850, the government had established heavy control over the Native American population, with a line of forts and armies to control and fight the red man for the "protection" of the white man. In 1849, the Bureau of the Interior was established and in 1851 the government began to relocate Native Americans to reservations on unwanted and undesirable land. In the following years, other official acts further dislocated the Native American population and functioned to break up tribal affiliations. The expressed policy was to "Americanize" the "Indians." Official government policy went through many variations, but the effect on the Native American population remained the same: exploitation, poverty, starvation and disease.

It is significant to note that the Bureau of Indian Affairs was established under the War Department in 1834 and is now in the Department of the Interior. The many changes in attitude on the part of the government and a long history of broken treaties have produced most of the frustration and sense of futility felt in the Native American today. One important aspect of the relationship between the BIA and the Native American is related to the distinction between Plains Indians and the "Five Civilized Tribes." Since the "Five Civilized Tribes" were originally in the southeastern United States, their exposure to the white man's culture came much earlier than that of the Plains Indians and they were, therefore, in many ways more able to deal with the white government. Evidence of this is the relatively advantaged position of the Five Civilized Tribes in eastern Oklahoma as compared to the tragic conditions of the Plains Indians in western Oklahoma. The Cherokee, for example, have been much more successful at self-help projects and preservation of their traditions and culture than have the Cheyenne and Arapaho in western Oklahoma. Also, the social acceptance, education, and socioeconomic conditions are generally better for the red population in eastern Oklahoma than for those in the western part of the state. Of course, conditions for any group are far from acceptable.

The paternal attitudes of the government have done much to destroy initiative and pride in the Native American. It was only in 1970 that a bill was passed in the Congress to allow the Five Civilized Tribes to elect their own chief. Until then, the principal chiefs of these tribes were appointed by the President of the United States. The bureaucracy which has resulted from this government control is staggering. In America's Concentration Camps, Carlos Embry (1956) says, "In less than twenty-five years, the number of Indian Bureau employees has been increased from less than 5,000 to more than 12,500, or about one for every six Indian families." (p.211) In light of this lack of autonomy, it begins to seem miraculous that Native Americans can maintain the pride and self-image to achieve any sort of academic success at all.

In terms of programs for higher education, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has long provided and controlled liberal scholarship programs for Native American students. Only recently have they participated jointly with selected institutions in other programs for college and university students such as tutoring, various research projects, and some other supportive services. After 130 years of control, the Native American is little better off than he was when the Bureau of Indian Affairs was established under the War Department in 1834.

A local example of the plight of the Native American which may be typical of the national problem is the situation in northeast Oklahoma, which is served by Northeastern State College, a four-year college engaged primarily in teacher-education. Northeastern State College is located in Tahlequah, Oklahoma (Cherokee County), the capital of the Cherokee Nation. It was founded in 1846 by the Cherokee National Council as the

National Male and Female Seminaries and became a state-operated institution in 1909. It is the oldest institution for higher education in the state of Oklahoma. The school is situated in the heart of the Cookson Hills about 65 miles east of Tulsa, and 65 miles west of Fayetteville, Arkansas. The immediate area served is Cherokee County and the bordering counties of Wagoner, Mayes, Delaware, Sequoyah, Adair, and Muskogee. These counties are all basically rural, with much of the population living in extremely isolated rural areas. The following illustrative statistics are based on figures supplied by the 1960 U.S. Census; Oklahoma Employment Security Commission; University of Oklahoma Bureau of Research; Oklahoma State Department of Education; and the office of U. S. Congressman Ed Edmondson in Muskogee, Oklahoma:

1. Over 45 percent of the housing in four of these counties does not have indoor plumbing.
2. 77 percent of the Indian population in the area lives in isolated rural areas or communities of less than 2,500, and 54.5 percent of the black and 48.6 percent of the white population are rural.
3. In five of these counties, over 50 percent of the families have an annual income of $3,000 or less, with one county reporting 69.3 percent of the families making $3,000 or less. Over 75 percent make $5,000 or less, with 87.4 percent of Adair County in that category.
4. Over 50 percent of the total population has less than an 8th grade education, while in four counties over 60 percent has less than 8 years of education.
5. The median school years completed by the non-white (red and black) population is 7.3 years.

6. The black population is very small (under 5 percent) except for Wagoner County (16.4 percent) and Muskogee County (19.1 percent).

7. The Native American population is almost impossible to define. In 1960, four counties reported less than 10 percent and three counties reported over 17 percent. However, all government agencies say this is totally inaccurate. The common response when one asks how many Indians there are, is "who isn't Indian?" Many predict that growing racial pride will show a large increase in those claiming to be Indian in the 1970 Census.

8. Four of these counties show over 30 percent increase in population from 1960-1970 while the state increase was barely ten percent.

9. The median family income for the area is $1,650 per year for the non-white population and $2,800 annually for the white population.

It should be noted that some relief in socioeconomic conditions should result from recent industrial and cultural projects in the area. The most significant of these are the Cherokee Cultural and Industrial complex, which is being financed more from tribal funds than government money, several new interstate highways bordering the area, and the Arkansas River navigation project. However, the large majority of the people who need help are still living in such remote conditions and with so little education that even these projects will not reach them.

These ethnic and economic conditions are very evident in the problems of students at Northeastern State College. Of the present enrollment of 5,400, there are 386 black students and approximately 400 Native Americans. (Again, the Native American population is impossible to define accurately. Many say the number of Indian students is closer to 1,000.) Eighty percent of all NSC students are from families with an annual income of $7,500 or less; fifty percent of the students are from families with an annual income of $4,800 or less, and forty percent of NSC students are on financial aid. Northeastern's financial aid program is near $2 million annually.

Special programs at NSC specifically designed to make higher education more accessible to the disadvantaged or to insure success of poor and minority students at the college level are developing slowly, and leave much to be desired. Specifically, NSC has made a few attempts to address itself to the crisis. A Cherokee Bilingual Education Program is probably the most significant step toward improvement. Under this program courses in the Cherokee language and special education courses to better train teachers going into the rural schools are meeting with great success. The focus seems to be toward bettering conditions in public schools rather than on the college level. The college has also conducted a number of workshops and institutes in human relations, also oriented more to the community and elementary and secondary schools. In addition to these efforts, NSC has a budding program in ethnic studies, still largely undeveloped though offering a few isolated courses in Native American culture and black history. A few Indian and Black Arts Festivals have been produced by student initiative without much help from the college.

Aside from these minimal efforts, no program to better educate the disadvantaged college student has been implemented. In the meantime, racial trouble between blacks and whites and a growing impatience on the part of Native American students continues to severely threaten the whole education process at NSC. And socioeconomic conditions of the area, particularly of the three major ethnic groups, persist or become progressively worse.

Northeastern State College is representative of many such institutions in rural areas with large Native American populations. Education must be the key to solving these crises in the community and college and Northeastern State College, like its counterparts elsewhere, must begin to provide that key. Bad education leads to unemployment, to low income, to substandard living conditions, to bad education. Thus the destructive and explosive self-perpetuating cycle is complete. What can be done to improve education is to create a comprehensive program in ethnic education, concentrating on the problems of black, Native American, and poor white students, and taking advantage of the inherent educational qualities of the area. Such a program should not only contain courses in ethnic studies and folklore, but should also incorporate a variety of supportive services such as tutoring, counseling, social action projects, and recruitment and placement services specifically designed to help students of each ethnic group. What is needed is not an additional course or two or an occasional workshop, but comprehensive programs.

The average Native American student comes from a background of rural isolation, poor economic conditions, bilingualism or a primary language other than English, insulation from urbanism and the contemporary national and world problems. What education he brings to college is so poor in quality that it is not rare to run across college sophomores and juniors who are functional illiterates. The average NSC student does not identify with race riots, Berkeley, Wall Street, Black Panthers, Alcatraz, Kent State or even the war on Vietnam. Too often the education offered to the Native American student seems irrelevant to his needs.

Of course, racism and feelings of ethnic superiority on the part of faculty, administrators, community, and students must be dealt with before much can be done. Discussions about communication problems may be helpful, but they are a poor substitute for representation in administrative positions and faculty rosters. New solutions and new programs must be tried if poor and minority students are to receive an education which will change a situation which has remained the same for 100 years.

When the white man "discovered" this country, over 1,000,000 Native Americans already inhabited the land. The extermination at one point had decreased their ranks to one-fourth that number. But now red men constitute the fastest growing ethnic and cultural minority in the United States, their number now approaching 700,000. If conditions for these long oppressed people are to improve, higher education will have to respond to the need.

CHICANOS

Traditionally referred to in the literature as Mexican-Americans, the brown people of the Southwest are increasingly choosing to be known as Chicanos, a shortened pronunciation of Mexicanos, as it is pronounced south of the United States border. Their growing ethnic pride is also reflected in another self-designation, La Raza, which can best be translated as "The Race," or "The People," an expression of group pride and solidarity. Most heavily concentrated in California, Arizona, Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado, Chicanos constitute the second largest minority group in the United States, with their number estimated at approximately ten million. In the 1960 U.S. Census, they were counted under the heading, "Spanish-surnamed White," an indication of the need for a more specific designation for the purpose of group unity.

For over a hundred years, these "Spanish-surnamed Whites" have been analyzed and written about, though rarely by authors with Spanish surnames. Lazy, indolent, childlike, passive, dirty, and/or ruthless--over the years the stereotype has been built up. Only recently, the mayor of a prominent Texas city went on public record declaring that Chicanos were a delightfully carefree, somewhat irresponsible people, fond of music and dancing, but basically unable to cope with the more complex business of life. It can at least be noted that he is no longer mayor of that city; but it will take a great deal of time and effort to wash away the tragic effects of the negative stereotype which has been developed of the Chicanos, an image which has resulted just as much from biased sociological surveys and erroneous anthropological studies as from the rawer varieties of racial prejudice and ignorance.

Very few Chicanos have had a hand in telling their story; almost the entire body of literature on the Mexican-American has been written by Anglo-Americans and has been, in the main, negative and damaging. Educators have long relied on this ahistorical body of literature to justify and explain their failure to educate Chicano children. As a current example, below is a portion of a statement by a college administrator to describe the characteristics of the population which his college's special program serves. In doing so he has provided an example of the kind of stereotyping still going on with regard to these people. A Chicano student facing an educator with ideas such as these would have difficulty in demonstrating (1) that not all of these characteristics are so negative as they are portrayed here; and (2) that he, and many other Chicanos, do not in fact possess these characteristics. Yet until he has been able to demonstrate these realities to the educators with whom he must deal, he has little chance of being treated as an individual, or of receiving an education that is geared to him as a human being, and not as a textbook generalization. Here is the excerpt:

> These traits are identified as being typical of the Mexican-American:
>
> 1. Has been exposed only to the social and cultural traditions of the family unit. Has been generally alienated from participation in a larger and comprehensive social structure. As a result, he tends to appear anti-intellectual and pragmatic. Has wide areas of ignorance but is suspicious of new knowledges and innovations.
>
> 2. Appears to learn most readily through a physical, concrete approach. Appreciates knowledge for its practical, applied ends, but rarely values it for its own sake. Because of his cultural and social orientation, he places little value in general or basic education. As a consequence he generally rejects the education system prior to being exposed to occupational or applied knowledge.
>
> 3. Comes from a male-centered culture which values masculinity and its attendant action.
>
> 4. Comes from a culture which values traditional heritages. Is religiously oriented but maintains basic superstitions.
>
> 5. Not accustomed to insight building.

6. Reads ineffectively and is deficient in the communications skills.

7. Is unaware of the "ground rules" for success in school or on the job.

8. Generally desires to improve his standard of living for himself and his family.

9. Over 15 percent of the people in the college district are of Mexican-American descent.

By virtually any measure applied, the average Chicano falls far below the norms established by American society as a whole. In many respects they are worse off than most other minority groups. They are poorer, their housing is more crowded and more dilapidated, their unemployment rate is higher, and their average educational level is lower. And while these facts have been recognized and documented for many years, only recently have efforts to ameliorate their impoverishment and deprived educational condition been initiated.

There are many school districts throughout the Southwest that are in great financial need themselves, and unfortunately in far too many instances government funds earmarked for bilingual and other compensatory programs are not being channeled into the proper areas in which programs can be developed for Chicano children. Consequently, there is a critical shortage of educational programs directed toward the needs of Chicano youth. Their education has been a second-rate, mono-lingual, mono-cultural experience--and many have been excluded even from this dubious privilege. Available evidence indicates that Chicanos have a higher elementary and secondary school dropout rate than any other identifiable group in the United States. According to one report, (The Mexican-American, Quest for Equality, a report of the National Advisory Committee on Mexican-American Education, 1968, Washington, D.C.) the average Mexican-American child in the Southwest drops out of school by the seventh year. In Texas, almost ninety percent of the children with Spanish surnames drop out before completing high school. And although Spanish-surnamed students make up more than fourteen percent of the public school population in California, less than one-half of one percent of college students enrolled in the seven major campuses of the University of California are of this group. Moreover, it is not uncommon to hear reports of children spending two or three years in the first grade or of being placed in classes for the mentally retarded because of difficulties with the English language. Obviously, given these inhuman conditions, only a relatively small number of Chicanos ever complete high school--and a sizeable number of those who do survive the public school experience do not go on to any form of higher education.

It is difficult to ascertain with any certain degree of accuracy the extent to which Chicanos participate in higher education. A reliable estimate is that less than two percent of the college population is "Spanish-surnamed." Moreover, approximately three-fourths of the Chicano students who do begin college are forced to drop out before they receive their degree.

There seem to be only a few isolated instances in which colleges or universities have committed themselves in a comprehensive manner to the identification, recruitment, and, most importantly, the educational development of Chicano students. San Jose, Long Beach, and San Diego State Colleges, the University of California at Santa Barbara and New Mexico State University are examples of institutions which have began to address themselves to this responsibility. Also, Jacinto Trevino Chicano College in Mercedes, Texas, as its name implies, is principally dedicated to the education of Chicanos as well as to the resolution of the many social and educational problems faced by the Chicano population.

It must be noted that very few institutions of higher education are presently equipped to provide a meaningful education for Chicanos. Many college administrators feel that a discussion of black problems is a discussion of Chicano problems. In spite of the fact that both populations have been exploited, victimized, and have suffered many of the same injustices in this country, they are unique groups with differing cultures, personality patterns, and learning styles. For example, a major problem of Chicanos is that of bilingualism. The inability to speak standard English is in many respects a more severe impediment in this society than color. Language "hang-ups" are the basic causes of most Chicano failures in college. It is for this reason that a solution to the problem of retention of Chicano students must take into consideration language and culture as the most important areas of education for the entering Chicano students. The college language instructional program should be, for this reason, the best planned, coordinated, and organized of all programs.

In terms of his culture and his heritage, the Chicano's perceptions, perspectives, aspirations, and values must be clearly understood in any serious attempt to provide equality of educational opportunity. As an example, college program coordinators should realize that many Chicano parents are reluctant to send their daughters to college, particularly where they must live in dormitories, because they choose to adhere to their traditions of familial practices and parental authority. Recruitment efforts and institutional practices must therefore be specifically addressed to this particular phenomenon. The tragedy is that most college administrators fail to recognize and make provision for these types of cultural factors, and attempts to modify the college program and learning environment to eliminate factors discouraging the success of Chicanos are rare. There is evidence, however, that Chicanos throughout the country are uniting their efforts to insure that this neglect will not continue. The drive and determination of young Chicanos to fight their way into educational opportunities is the brightest factor in Chicano education in this country.

It is also true that little attention is given in the literature to the problems of poor whites, who receive a large proportion of federal assistance aimed at college students, including Equal Opportunity Grants. It is estimated that between thirteen and sixteen percent of the population of urban poverty areas is white children under the age of eighteen, and approximately one-fifth of the rural poverty area population is made up of white youngsters (National Education Association, 1969). Certainly many of these young people have other difficulties, in addition to the fact of poverty, which have affected their education negatively. Many come from backgrounds of rural isolation, and may have encountered conflicts in their education stemming from differing language patterns and cultural traits. However, the great majority of such students attend colleges which have traditionally served these groups, and therefore do not find themselves set apart from the mainstream of their college's life by membership in a special program or by ethnic differences. In the context of their chosen college experience, they may well not be disadvantaged.

With these varied kinds of backgrounds and characteristics, the new students are affecting the old institutions in a variety of ways. Students from all backgrounds are rallying around the demand for relevance, one of the primary catchwords for student activists of all persuasions. The attack on behalf of this cause encompasses many different demands, from the responsibility of the university to be a positive, active force for social change, to the most desirable kind of grading system. Students are demanding not only new subjects added to traditional curriculum, but new modes of learning those subjects, as well as new criteria for evaluating how well that learning has been done. They are calling for an end to the system which requires that they allow themselves to be fed a series of facts, accompanied perhaps by selected evaluations, and then that they be prepared to cough up this information upon demand to obtain a certain, standardized criticism of their ability to perform these tasks known as a grade. Many students feel that their best work, the learning that is most important to them, and which can be done in their own, personal style, should not be evaluated on an impersonal, numerical basis or compared with the work of other students. Certainly it is true that when the college finds itself serving a greatly varied population of students, some of whom have not met with great success when judged by traditional academic standards, but who are potentially as capable of meaningful development as the more academically successful students, a more individualized system of evaluation must be designed, one which is sensitive enough to perceive and record the types of progress which are actually being made.

During the past few years a good many colleges and universities, almost always in response to student demand, have begun experimenting with variations of the pass-fail method, with mixed evaluations of the system from students, faculty, and administrators. Some faculty members feel that this form of evaluation tempts students to do only a minimum amount of work to gain the credit, but other students and teachers counter that pass-fail allows students to benefit from courses in difficult or new areas which they would not have considered if a low grade in such a course could affect their four-year average. It is certainly true that something is wrong with a system which is structured so as to shut off students from new intellectual experiences for such a reason. The fact is that pass-fail and A - F are clearly not the only alternatives for evaluating students, and both are unsatisfactory insofar as they serve as shorthand or codes to deprive the student of a meaningful evaluation and understanding of what he has learned in a course and how well he is able to use this knowledge. It may be necessary to seek far more personal means of arriving at these evaluations, and certainly any mode which places the student in competition with his fellow students is to be avoided as a diversion of energy in harmful directions and a subversion of the highly personal goal of intellectual and personal development which is supposed to be a vital part of the college experience. If such evaluations are carefully done, and not the perfunctory exercises which letter grades, and now, in many cases, pass-fail systems, have come to be, they should meet the objections of those administrators who see a problem of selection for graduate and professional school admissions officers, by offering, if anything, a clearer picture of the prospective student than any number-laden transcript has ever been able to do.

The most overwhelming problem which the new populations of disadvantaged students present to the universities is fiscal. It is a basic fact that higher education is expensive. And it is also a fact that the financial problems of almost all colleges and universities, grossly enlarged by the current national economic situation, seem headed toward a crisis of disastrous proportions. No discussion of any aspect of higher education can remain untinged by considerations of impending financial emergency. Out of these circumstances, the university which is committed to opening its doors to larger numbers of disadvantaged young people must somehow find the funds with which to assist these students, and then must dispense them as equitably and even tactfully as possible. For an important demand which these new kinds of students are making on the colleges they attend is that they be respected, and not be treated as objects of charity.

The pride which such students bring with them into the university and which they are resolved to protect can be the source of other new problems for the school. Determined to protect their racial or ethnic integrity, some students may seek solidarity by demanding separate facilities. This demand sets forth a tightrope on which the university must tread carefully. Enforced assimilation is as harmful for all students as enforced segregation, but there must be carefully provided opportunities for meaningful interaction among all students, as well as freedom and facilities for united action among subgroups of the student population.

Above all, the new students and their needs demand from the university the one thing that a large and long established institution of any sort may well find most difficult to provide--flexibility. As a revered institution in the society, the college or university has always been able to demand that the flexibility be on the part of the students, who presumably will come to the school with the desire to be molded in the image of its other graduates. This comfortable state of affairs is simply no longer the case for a large number of young people now entering college. Whether because they perceive themselves as brighter or more sophisticated than previous college students or because, like many disadvantaged students, they know that they come from backgrounds much different from the insulated scholarly community and have a set of knowledge which others in that community lack, these new students refuse to conform unquestioningly to someone else's idea of what they should be. The problem of educating them, in their great diversity, is not a simple one.

In return, the old institutions cannot fail to have an impact on the new students. The college experience creates many problems for young people with different types of social and academic experiences, and in some cases the school may try to minimize the impact of these differences while trying at other times to give maximum effectiveness to the changes it brings about for the students, when those changes represent the kind of improvement the school hopes to effect in them.

Many colleges and even graduate schools have set up a variety of special programs to deal with non-traditional students whom they seek to admit in larger numbers. Remedial courses may be offered or required in areas in which large numbers of the students are found to be deficient. Other academic problems may be dealt with by special tutoring programs, or by programs designed to improve study skills in general. Other methods of dealing with both social and academic problems arising from the transition to college life have included a variety of counseling programs as well as special pre-college preparatory programs which are usually designed to give the student a foretaste of life on the campus at the same time as they offer some remedial work in academic skills.

Most institutions recognize the importance of financial considerations in assisting such special students toward success in higher education, although few find themselves with adequate resources to provide the kind of help that is really needed. Scholarships, loans, and special job opportunities are the usual components of financial aid programs, though there are many pitfalls in dispensing of this assistance. Some of these problems will be discussed in detail in Chapter V of this report.

A number of schools are responding to the needs of these new types of students--some willingly and some under pressure--by instituting new courses in new areas of study which are felt to be more relevant to the concerns of the students. These new methods and areas of learning provide an example of one effort on the part of the university to adapt itself to the students, rather than devoting its entire resources to adapting all its students to the traditional style and content of the university.

For the most part, however, the pressure remains on the students to produce evidence of achievement along traditional academic lines. The more the background of the student has been characterized by lack of success in this area, and the more rigidly the institution defines and measures academic success, the greater will be the chance of failure for that student.

Added to the pressure of the demand for academic achievement is the psychological impact of the alien atmosphere of the campus. Many such non-traditional students come from communities where few of their peers go to college, and where even fewer of the older people they have known have had college experiences. Suddenly these students are thrust into the middle of what they have always considered to be an elitist experience. This view is still held by most of their friends and companions in the community; many of their peers are "on the streets," whether in the ghetto, in the small rural town, or on the reservation, far away from such special opportunity. It is almost inevitable that such students will feel alone and isolated on the alien campus. They will be torn between their ethnic or class identity, which is moving them in one direction, and all the pressures put upon them by the college atmosphere and their fellow students there to conform to another standard. If they are racially in the minority, must they attempt to assume white skin and mores? Many may feel that they are being pressured to do exactly that. Must they adopt middle class ideals and values? Some may feel that unless they do, they will always remain outsiders, a psychological burden which is especially hard to bear at such a critical stage in the young person's development. Another role which the non-traditional student may find himself playing is the spokesman for his race or group, a role which he may be forced into without voluntarily choosing it. He may simply be used as the silent representative of his group on campus, a symbol to assuage uneasy consciences or placate potential pressure groups, without the opportunity to be the spokesman for anything at all. "House niggers" seldom have the opportunity to speak for themselves, much less find anyone to listen.

The list of pressures which these new kinds of students may feel in the college environment seems to be endless and often contradictory. Frequently they conflict with or compound other psychological burdens to the point of confounding nearly any well intentioned attempt to provide remedies for the problems. The special student may be tormented by uncertainty concerning his ability to meet and utilize this special opportunity, even if he can overcome the guilt which he may feel at being the recipient of such special treatment when other members of his community have no such chance. On the other hand, he may feel that higher education is a right which is simply denied to many and which he is claiming for himself, only to arrive on campus and find himself confronting administrators and fellow students who treat him like a welfare case. He may have to struggle, too, with his own desire to have his academic work evaluated by the same standard used for all other students, thus coming into conflict with the practice of some well meaning instructors who are inclined to be more lenient with students they consider to be at a disadvantage. To protest this treatment, the student may feel, would be disloyal to other students from the group with which he identifies. Many such problems, seemingly without satisfactory solutions, may make him feel hopelessly trapped in what is offered to him as a glorious opportunity.

Of course, the opportunity is not without its positive aspects. Even for the student who ultimately cannot adjust to the change, the experience has broadening effects, and may make him better able to function in the world at large. The fact of having attended such an institution will provide him with a greater range of traditional career opportunities, including even, for some few, the field of sports, though this route to success has, for many excellent reasons, lost much of its appeal. As a result of many of the conflicts described, these young people may actually arrive at a clearer perception of the value and disadvantages of the prevailing middle class ethos, and have an enhanced opportunity to make an enlightened choice of values and life style. They may benefit from a strengthening of their ethnic pride and solidarity, and may advance their perception of social and economic realities to the point at which they can derive a cross-ethnic attack on problems which have usually been viewed as primarily ethnic in origin. They may come to the realization, along with concerned fellow students of all ethnic and class backgrounds, that the bases of power as well as those of discrimination are not necessarily ethnic or racial, but may be more effectively viewed as political and economic. If they can effectively act on these assumptions, then the education they have received, as well as the education they have contributed to other students of more traditional college backgrounds, will far exceed the wildest hopes of the educators responsible for their college opportunity.

As we have seen, however, there are many problems and pitfalls before some of these more positive aspects of the college experience can be realized for the new types of students, even in a situation where the nature of the institutions and the nature of the students with whom they are dealing remain static. Even this condition is not the case today, however. Many forces are responsible for an almost constant state of change within the institutions and among the populations from whom they seek to recruit students. At the moment, there are many pressures--financial, political, and social--which actually militate against the kind of effort which has been growing over the past few years to broaden educational opportunity for students traditionally denied it. Even this situation may change in a moment, given the swiftness and complexity of social change today. Many of the facts reported in this study may be hopelessly dated by the time of this writing. It is necessary for those educators determined to be effective to confront and allow for the fact that people and institutions are both in such a fluid state at present as to make analysis and planning extremely difficult, though not, we must assume, impossible.

Chapter III. Current Programs and Practices in Compensatory Education

The data collection stage of this study was divided into four phases. Phase I was designed to determine the target population of institutions to be studied, those institutions which have special collegiate programs for non-traditional students. Phase II was a general survey of program characteristics, as well as relevant information on students, administrations, and faculty who participate in such programs. This general survey encompassed all institutions which were identified in Phase I as having special compensatory programs. The purpose of Phase III was to gather data which could not be adequately obtained by means of questionnaires. In a series of site visits to colleges with special programs, staff investigators elicited information regarding the attitudes of significant groups toward the impact of the special programs from their various frames of references. In Phase IV, a selected number of institutions was chosen for the purpose of conducting a series of in-depth case studies of the special programs.

The Phase I inquiry was sent to 4,119 colleges and universities throughout the United States. Thirty-seven percent (n=1515) of the total number of colleges contacted responded to this initial inquiry. Subsequently, a follow-up mailing was sent to all non-responding institutions. The final percentage of returns was increased to 53 percent. Of the 2,109 institutions responding to this initial inquiry, 711 indicated the presence of special programs for non-traditional students. These institutions became the target of a more intensive survey of the nature of the elements which characterized such programs. Of this target population, 370 colleges and universities participated in an extensive analysis of their programs. Data were collected by means of a detailed questionnaire (see appendix), selected campus visitations, and an analysis of program materials (brochures, documents, annual reports, etc.). This in-depth study of programs brought into focus significant discrepancies between reported practices and the actual perceptions, observations, and experiences of student and staff participants. Given this phenomenon, the relatively small number of institutions studied, and the difficulties inherent in attempts to quantify interview data, it was decided to rely heavily on a narrative report of findings, and to place less emphasis on the statistical presentation of data. This approach seems to provide a more meaningful and reasonably complete description of the status of the problem.

PRESENT FINDINGS COMPARED WITH THE 1966 GORDON-WILKERSON STUDY

In 1966 Gordon and Wilkerson reported the results of their comprehensive nationwide study of compensatory education for the disadvantaged, which included programs and practices from preschool through college. In this earlier study the investigators received reports from 610 institutions of higher education, representing 28.6 percent of the 2,131 colleges and universities which they contacted. In contrast, the present study received reports from 2,198 institutions which represents 53% of the institutions of higher education surveyed. These relationships are reflected in Table I, below.

	1966 Study	Present Study
Number of Institutions Contacted	2,131	4,119
Number of Institutions Responding	610 (28.6%)	2,198 (53%)
Number of Institutions Reporting Special Programs	224 (37%)	711 (32%)

The significant increase in responsiveness noted above may be indicative of the many changes in higher education between 1964 and 1969, which have had a sensitizing effect on institutions in terms of their obligation to make known their efforts on behalf of the non-traditional student.

As indicated above, Gordon and Wilkerson reported that of the 610 institutions, 224 (37%) indicated that they were conducting a variety of compensatory practices --special recruiting and admissions procedures, financial aid, pre-college preparatory courses, remedial courses in college, special curricula, counseling, tutoring, and other practices; and 386 of the institutions (63%) reported that they were not conducting programs for non-traditional students. This relative decrease in the percentage of institutions reporting the presence of programs must be viewed in the light of the sharp difference in the rates of return for each of the two studies. In absolute terms, it is to be noted that the number of special programs reported has increased from 224 to 711, so that between 1966 and 1969 the evidence points to a 217% increase in the number of colleges and universities reporting the presence of special programs for non-traditional students.

The levels of academic programs offered by the institutions reporting compensatory programs are as follows:

Two-year colleges	34%	(n=242)
Four-year colleges	40%	(n=284)
Universities	26%	(n=185)

The Gordon-Wilkerson study reported that 29% of the institutions were of the two-year community or junior college type. The present study reveals that slightly more than one-third of the institutions reporting compensatory programs were two-year colleges. It seems certain that the increase in the number of community colleges that have come into existence during the past five years accounts, in part, for their proportionately increased representation in the compensatory education effort. However, careful examination of many two-year college programs reveals compelling evidence to suggest that in many instances these "programs" are something less than new compensatory programs for non-traditional students. Many of these institutions have a general "open door" admission policy and regularly offer remedial sources for any student who may have an educational deficiency. These colleges, typically serving the local community, have attracted a considerable number of students because of financial considerations, and consequently there is a relatively high representation of low/lower-middle class youth on campus. Given these factors, within the context of the current social-political-educational atmosphere, it is not difficult to understand how many of these community colleges would tend to regard their ongoing services and policies as "special efforts" to enhance the educational opportunities of non-traditional students.

With regard to the kinds of programs offered by the 711 institutions, it is virtually impossible to make any meaningful analysis on the basis of the questionnaire data. Most of the institutions offer multiple programs (e.g. liberal arts/teacher education, liberal arts/terminal occupational, technical/terminal occupational, professional/terminal occupational, professional/teacher education, etc.) and were unwilling to place themselves primarily in any one category. This phenomenon may, in part, explain the fact that Gordon-Wilkerson reported that 90% of the programs were based in the liberal arts in 1966. An admittedly crude analysis in the present study would suggest that perhaps two-thirds of the institutions are primarily of the liberal arts type, and the remaining third are approximately equally divided among teacher education, terminal-occupational, professional, and other. Future studies might profitably address themselves to the specific programs or majors that the socially disadvantaged students are actually enrolled in regardless of the particular classification of the college or university. It is of crucial importance to ascertain the extent to which minority youth are being prepared to move into positions of high status and responsibility in the community, and therefore of great interest to learn how many are studying public administration, business administration, law, medicine, urban planning, and educational administration.

As was the case in the 1966 study, information concerning the number of non-traditional students being helped by the 711 institutions reporting compensatory programs is fragmentary, and in many cases ambiguous. Of those institutions with reasonably clear reports on this item, 40% reported assistance to between one and 30 students; 21% reported assistance to between 31 and 50; and 39% reported assisting more than 50 students with a range into the hundreds (see Table II).

Number of Students Being Assisted	Percent of Reporting Institutions*
Between 1 - 30	40
Between 31-50	21
More than 50	39

*N=240 institutions reporting usable data

The Gordon-Wilkerson data indicated that almost half of the institutions with compensatory programs in the 1966 study were assisting fewer than 30 socially disadvantaged students.

For the purpose of a general, five-year comparison regarding the status of compensatory programs in higher education, it may be concluded that the absolute number of programs has increased substantially, but that there has been only a relatively slight increase in the numbers of students being assisted by individual programs. The following sections are addressed to a descriptive analysis of the nature of the various program practices and policies as they are revealed in questionnaire and interview data.

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

Survey questionnaires attempted to elicit the specific objectives of the programs and practices as they were initially formulated. The evidence suggests that while the delineation of objectives may have been an important aspect of a funding proposal, it was not an integral part of the program. Typical responses were, "to provide an equality of educational opportunity", "to increase the number of minority group students", or "to enable each to become all that he is capable of becoming." Two-thirds of the institutions reporting objectives indicated that either faculty, administrative staff, or student personnel staff were primarily responsible for the formulations of the objectives. The remaining institutions reported the involvement of students and the college community at large in the formulation of objectives. It is important to note that, for the most part, the latter institutions instituted program practices which related directly back to specific objectives, and consequently their evaluation procedures were based on the realization of objectives, as well as on the effectiveness of specific practices. This continuity of flow from objectives to practices to evaluation was not the norm. For the most part initial objectives were not clearly stated and there was a tenuous relationship between specific program practices and stated program objectives.

MODAL PRACTICES

It should be noted that special recruiting procedures, modified admissions practices, financial aid, and a lengthened time for completing the degree were common elements of virtually all institutions reporting special programs. Beyond these common elements, responding institutions are conducting a variety of compensatory practices directed at the special needs of college students from disadvantaged backgrounds as shown by the following summary tabulations (Table III).

	Percent*
Special remedial coursework	73%
Special counseling and other guidance services	68%
Special tutoring	63%
Special instruction in study skills	55%
Pre-college preparatory courses	39%
Special curriculum, or sequence of courses	21%

*In interpreting the above summary tabulations, one must be mindful of the fact that some institutions did not regard certain practices as "special," since they were available to the total student population. This was particularly true in the case of counseling and tutoring services.

The offering of remedial courses was the most frequently mentioned practice, followed by special counseling and then tutoring services. This particular combination of practices, in fact, appears to be the modal program. Yet there is increasing evidence that these practices, as they are currently being implemented, are only minimally effective in improving the academic performance of socially disadvantaged students.

The fourth and fifth most frequently mentioned practices were "special instruction in study skills" and "pre-college preparatory courses." The manner in which these two practices are conducted varies considerably among colleges. While considerable energies are being devoted to meeting students' needs, both the emergent character of many of the programs and the hesitancy of students to participate have compromised the efficacy of these efforts. This condition will be elaborated on in the following sections which are addressed to specific compensatory practices.

REMEDIAL COURSES

While the offering of remedial courses is the most common practice among institutions surveyed, there is mounting evidence that it has been one of the least effective. One of the major problems has been that many of the institutions, the community colleges in particular, were already making remedial courses available to their regular students, and in their special program for the newly admitted socially disadvantaged students they simply extended the existing remedial course offerings to cover the special students, the rationale for this approach being that these students need remedial help in most, if not all, areas and that their educational deficiencies can be reversed by means of the existing remedial courses. Both of these assumptions are tenuous at best. The following statement made by a program director is typical of the experience of many others: "As part of the program's design, students were to be enrolled in a mixture of academic and remedial courses during their first semester. The program had expected to use the remedial reading and writing courses already existing at the college. Unfortunately, however, the utilization of these resources was not fully realized. Thirty percent of the students registered in the remedial reading class were advised to leave the course on the basis of preliminary testing which indicated them to be too severely impoverished in reading skills to benefit. Additionally it was discovered that the writing lab was not designed to meet the special needs of these students."

Of the 270 institutions reporting remedial courses, 156 (58%) indicated that they were offered on a non-credit basis. On these campuses where remedial courses were non-credit, many of the students interviewed expressed the feeling that this first year of college was just an extension of high school, and that they were not full-fledged members of the college community. In those institutions that made participation in remedial courses mandatory, students perceived the practice as being both unfair and demoralizing. Consequently, these students were often unmotivated and uninterested, and the remedial courses were of scant benefit to most of them. In short, a remedial framework built on the assumption that educational "deficiencies" can be made up for simply by the application of extra, heavy, remedial doses of the standard curriculum has resulted in widespread disillusionment and a high dropout rate from remedial courses among the new enrollees.

Several institutions have described more promising approaches to the question of remediation, and interestingly enough, report more positive results. The courses, while often referred to as "compensatory courses" or "developmental courses", represent more than new packaging of traditional efforts. There is a different attitudinal set involved in which the individual is viewed as being at a different point in his educational development as a consequence of his on-going interaction with a "high risk" environment. There is an effort made to fit the learning experiences to the learning styles of non-traditional students. These courses are designed to correspond at entry and termination points with the pre-course and post-course experiences of the individual, that is, they are designed to meet the individual where he is, to build on his strengths, and to facilitate his growth and transition into regular courses within a reasonable period of time. The following comments by program directors are illustrative of this new direction in developmental coursework:

> ...remedial courses were not enough to assure marginal students of success in regular college programs. A model transitional curriculum was devised. Objectives are to provide services such as increased counseling, motivational attitude training, curricula appropriate for students' level of ability, and articulation with career oriented programs. The reasons for devising a developmental education program may be summarized by stating that the traditional remedial program was not meeting the needs of marginally effective students.

and

> Starting in 1970-71 the college will offer a new program of courses (developmental) rather than the traditional remedial courses which were a re-run of high school courses. These developmental courses are designed to affect the attitude of the learner relative to the subject area and education in general. Moreover, students will be enabled to develop a greater sense of self-realization...

COUNSELING SERVICES

The provision of special counseling and other guidance services was the second most frequently mentioned practice in the survey. The actual provisions varied among institutions from the "paper-thin" notification to students that the counseling center was available to them, to the intensive counseling services provided by a special counselor for every fifty students. Program directors consistently indicated that "counseling" was an integral aspect of their program. Yet, in all but a few isolated cases, there was no indication that a systematic attempt at evaluating the efficacy of this specific practice was being made. Consequently, while program directors consistently make optimistic statements regarding the impact and significance of the counseling strategy as a viable mode of intervention, there is little hard evidence to substantiate this optimism.

Interviews with students and staff members, on the other hand, indicate more often than not that they do not share this positive perception of counseling services. Approximately 150 students were interviewed both individually and in small groups during the on-site visits. In their evaluations of the "special counseling services" several themes were clearly identifiable. Primarily, students resent the gross assumption that their "heads are messed up"; they reject the implicit notion of having to be "adjusted" to the norms and values of the institution or of the larger society; and they call into serious question the competency ot the many traditional white middle-class college counselors in terms of understanding their needs. These general attitudes are reflected in the following comment made by one student upon returning from a forty-five minute session with her counselor: "Like I'm losing weight, the girls on my floor are down on me, and I'm falling behind in all of my courses -- and that cat tells me I'm experiencing guilt feelings about my parents' divorce six years ago...I don't want to hear that jive talk, I'm interested in where I'm at right now."

Another common problem which has not been widely acknowledged by colleges is the fact that most of the non-traditional students arrive on campus with a negative view of counseling and counselors. Many counselors in the public school system, they feel, programmed them for failure, were insensitive to their concerns, and looked down on them. It matters little what the facts may have been, for if this is their feeling about what happened, their attitudes and behavior will be influenced by that perception, and they will be reluctant to avail themselves of whatever counseling services are offered. A considerable number of smaller institutions have further compounded this underlying problem by assigning students to regular faculty members for purposes of counseling. Unfortunately, competence as an instructor in a given discipline is not necessarily accompanied by the sensitivity and skill required to work effectively with these students. As a consequence, students often lose faith in their "counselors'" ability to assist them with academic, as well as other problems. Moreover, the faculty members often tend to regard this aspect of their responsibilities to the institution as an unpleasant chore.

It must be noted that the students interviewed do not deny that there are needs to be met in this area, nor have they written off counseling, per se, as a viable strategy. They do not view themselves as "sick" or "maladjusted," but rather they feel that as a result of being subjected to the public school system they have a need to learn how to "get themselves together." While acknowledging that counseling may be one effective strategy for meeting this need, they question the efficacy of the service as it is presently being implemented.

TUTORING SERVICES

The provision of tutoring services is a common element of most special programs. While there is some variation with regard to the manner in which the tutoring service is structured, it is difficult from the data analyzed to discern particular approaches that may be especially promising or, on the other hand, approaches that have been relatively unsuccessful. Various programs have involved student tutors, paid tutors, or faculty tutors, and have resulted in varying degrees of success or failure with each. Colleges and universities reporting similarly structured tutoring plans also reported varying degrees of student satisfaction and participation. Students occasionally complained about the limited number of tutors and then indicated that when tutors were made available they (the students) participated on an irregular basis. When questioned about this inconsistency, students would often respond on a personal level, indicating that they felt uncomfortable seeking tutorial assistance or that the tutor wasn't relating to them. It seems clear that the attitude and sensitivity of the tutor are critical variables. If students sense a genuine feeling of concern and sincerity on the part of the tutor, they are more likely to avail themselves of the service. It follows that in the selection of tutors priority should be given to those who have accumulated experiences and understandings related to the needs of these students. Several institutions reported that upperclassmen from disadvantaged backgrounds were able to relate to and effectively communicate with entering freshmen from similar backgrounds. It may well be that the motivational effect of relating to a successful peer might be a more powerful learning agent than contact with a middle class adult operating out of the traditional skill strengthening or remediation classroom. Additionally, peer tutors had a modeling effect upon the freshmen and consequently considerable initiative growth and social learning also resulted, particularly in the area of coping skills (educational and inter-personal) necessary to college survival.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTION IN STUDY SKILLS

By all accounts (project directors, students, and staff) the various developmental learning centers and skills centers represent one of the most promising and effective strategies for bridging the gap between an individual's substandard educational preparation and his successful movement through a collegiate program. Initially the development of these learning centers was, for the most part, limited to the larger colleges and universities. However, as experience indicates that many of the regular college students can benefit by participation in these centers, a considerable number of smaller colleges are initiating such centers to be available to all students.

While there is no standard model, there are certain recurring features such as the use of supplementary learning materials; developmental reading activities; learning contracts; independent study assignments; special labs in composition, math and communication; programmed instruction; skills seminars in note taking, preparing for exams, assessing instructor styles and goals; and frequently, tutorial assistance carried out under the egis of the center. The centers generally focus attention on the diagnosis of individual students' strengths and weaknesses and the development of strategies to work with each student. An attempt is made to relate new skills to the skills the student already possesses, to his knowledge of himself and the world around him.

Many of the colleges have discovered that skills development alone was not sufficient in enabling students to achieve success. Patterns of under-achievement are a function of affective as well as cognitive considerations. Planned intervention in the affective domain is often a necessary pre-condition before students can realize maximum benefits from the skills development aspect of the center. Consequently, initial efforts are often in the direction of fostering relationships of trust and confidence; developing within each individual a sense of control over his destiny and positive feelings of self-worth; counteracting the expected failure complex; and assisting the individual to explore his aspirations and life goals in the light of his new insights. Institutions reporting this type of comprehensive approach indicate that traditional counseling, tutoring, and "remediation" occur easily and naturally within this organizational framework and, as such, are accepted and effectively utilized by students in a meaningful and integrated manner.

PRE-COLLEGE PREPARATORY COURSES

Probably one of the most dramatic compensatory developments in higher education is the conduct of a variety of preparatory summer programs. These pre-college efforts are intended to facilitate the student's transition from high school to college. Colleges report that students often arrive on campus fearful of the institution, anxious about the demands to be placed on them, and concerned about finances and about making proper curriculum choices. They enter this strange new world often expecting failure since this has been their past experience. The pre-college program serves to ease the transition under more controlled conditions and with considerably more individual attention than is possible during the academic year.

Pre-college programs vary from college to college depending upon the needs of the particular students being served, available resources, and the character of the institution. Typically, however, the students spend six to eight weeks during the summer in residence on a college campus, where they receive instruction in study skills, English, mathematics, and reading, and participation in special athletic and cultural activities. Students are introduced to campus life, exposed to college modes of instruction, acquainted with college personnel, in particular the supporting services staff, and are thoroughly alerted to the challenges, rewards, and sacrifices which may lie ahead of them. Of the 144 colleges and universities reporting pre-college programs, 94 (65%) indicated that students are permitted to take one or two regular college courses, a practice which can serve to demonstrate to the student that he can master collegelevel work. This also has the effect of reducing the course load of the first semester without necessarily extending the student's degree program into a fifth year.

In assessing the impact of these pre-college efforts, colleges report that they have been effective in motivating students, and in stimulating an interest in learning and in continuing their education; that they have effectively fostered the development of the student's confidence in his or her own abilities; have reduced anxiety and suspicion on the part of students; and, in short, have enabled them to enter the academic year with a high probability of success. For many of these non-traditional students the pre-college orientation and study skills program clearly made a crucial difference in enabling them to cope effectively with the realities of the freshman year.

CONSORTIUM EFFORTS

Numerous clusters of colleges and universities throughout the country have joined together in a consortium approach to providing a more viable educational opportunity for non-traditional students. While these consortia are founded on a solid and logical theoretical foundation, the evidence suggests that most consortium efforts have encountered severe operational difficulties which have rendered many of the programs dysfunctional. Problems of autonomy, conflicting calendars, fiscal responsibilities, and varying degrees of institutional commitment to central objectives are but a sampling of the difficulties which have plagued cooperative institutional ventures. The following overview of the consortium model is based on interviews with program directors who have had experience in inter-institutional approaches to compensatory education.

Many of the colleges and universities that have attempted to develop programs for non-traditional students have learned that as single institutions they do not have the expertise, the human resources, the physical facilities, or the social conditions which are requisite to meaningfully meeting the needs of this population of non-traditional students. Clearly, the joining together of institutions located in close proximity to each other as a consortium can be an instrument through which the resources of the various educational institutions are brought more effectively to bear upon the responsibility of providing an educational opportunity for the target population. The consortium approach stimulates cooperation, communication, and mutual respect among the participating institutions. This cooperative endeavor is one in which all parties can aid, and can learn from one another.

Several consortia reported the sharing of special staff members, such as a black psychologist, a career counselor, a community liaison officer, etc., whose employment would not be feasible for a single institution. At times, cross-transfer provision is made so that students are accepted into a particular college in the consortium, but have transfer access to any of the other participating institutions contingent upon available space and the recommendation of the consortium director. This has proven especially effective when the participating institutions represent the various levels and types of higher educational institutions. The combination of two and four year institutions and the availability of liberal arts and technical training programs expand considerably the opportunities open to students who often are not prepared to make discriminating decisions and choices at the point of graduation from high school.

Perhaps the most common components of consortium programs are exchange of faculty members, cross-course enrollment, and cooperative cultural activities. The mutual enrichment brought about by the "cross fertilization" of college faculties should be most beneficial. The opportunity to enroll in courses at institutions other than the one in which he is matriculated broadens and enriches the student's educational experience. That students critically need a more meaningful social and cultural experience can hardly be denied. Given the prospect of these benefits which can accrue to the advantage of the institutions as well as of the students being served, why, then, have consortium efforts been so slow in their development? Why have several consortia not been implemented beyond the proposal stage? The replies to this query ran the gamut of difficulties characteristic of institutions of high education: poor planning, mistrust, status and prestige problems among institutions, logistics, financial difficulties, etc. All are problems which typically must be overcome before institutional change for a valuable objective can be effected.

Based on the experiences of consortium participants, the following recommendations are offered for colleges and universities contemplating an inter-institutional program:

1. A consortium governing board should be established with representation from each of the participating institutions.
2. A full-time consortium director should be appointed to coordinate and implement the policies of the governing board.
3. Provision should be made for a central office facility with adequate clerical staffing.
4. A policy agreement must be developed to cover matters such as operational procedures, objectives, nature of institutional relationships, financial organization, communication and information dissemination system, and mechanism for problem solution.
5. A survey should be conducted to identify specific needs and resources of the member institutions.

6. Inter-institutional student, community, and faculty advisory councils should be established to recommend policy modifications to the governing board.

7. The model must be sufficiently flexible to absorb the unavoidable stresses brought about whenever diverse families join together in a common effort.

STUDENT EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS

The survey data indicate that approximately two-thirds of the non-traditional students are employed part-time. This figure remains constant for both male and female students. The arguments for and against student employment have given way to an acceptance of the principle that student employment should be closely related to the students' educational objective. How widely this acceptance of principle has been translated into practice remains a matter of conjecture at this point. A considerable number of students interviewed reported having jobs in the cafeteria, library, or campus clean-up; still others indicated they were not certain as to the nature of their job. These latter students had to sign a work-study form regularly, and understood that they were "on-call assistants" and would be notified as their services were needed. It can be concluded that at least several programs have degenerated into nothing more than a relatively inexpensive source of financial aid for colleges.

The foregoing is not to suggest that the field is devoid of imaginative applications of the work-study concept. One large midwestern university described its work-study program as follows:

"Many of these students have academic problems, even deficiencies, in which they must work full-time in order to succeed in the university. It is for this reason that we recommend that no student be permitted to work during his first quarter and that he be discouraged from working at all during the first year. After the first year, students are permitted, even encouraged to work about 15 hours a week while taking a full course of study. Not only is this customary with a large number of our regular students, but working can also help to develop the self-reliance and self-confidence necessary for students to develop maturity. As much of the disadvantaged students' work as possible is directly related to their educational activities and goals: counseling and advising high school students, working with college freshmen from their own group, participating in educational research or occupational projects in their own disciplines."

Still other institutions reported employing students as recruiting aides, departmental assistants, tutors in community programs, designers of ethnic orientation programs college faculty members, and special assistants to the administration for minority group education. Not only do these types of positions give the student a sense of involvement in his education, but they also tend to put him in close contact with faculty members who are thus in a better position to take a personal interest in his progress. It is clear that when work-study programs are thoughtfully conceived and implemented their impact extends beyond financial considerations and, indeed, becomes an integral part of the student's collegiate experience.

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITY/SOCIAL-POLITICAL LIFE

The survey attempted to ascertain the degree to which non-traditional students participate in established non-academic campus activities. Sixty-four percent of responding institutions reported that these students participated at a rate similar to the traditional students. However, slightly more than one-half of the institutions failed to respond to the particular item in the questionnaire. Follow-up interviews with program directors revealed that they were not particularly well informed with regard to the nature or extensiveness of student involvement in extra-curricular activities. It can be inferred that participation in extra-curricular activities has not been considered a significant aspect of compensatory programs. The students interviewed often acknowledged that there was a great void in terms of their non-academic life. Moreover, they felt that the traditional offering of extra-curricular activities was inadequate to meet their social needs. It is interesting to note that two-thirds of the responding institutions report that the non-traditional students have formed their own organizations on campus. Many of these new student organizations serve a dual social-political function. They have been an effective vehicle of communication between the students and the often alienated college community. They have been an educative force on many campuses by virtue of the fact that they can interpret/the special needs, concerns, and problems of the non-traditional students to the predominantly white middle class faculty and administration. The contribution and impact of these new organizations are reflected in the following comments made by program directors: "They have had a sensitizing effect, defusing several potentially explosive situations on campus"; "These students come from a different world which is only vaguely comprehended on an intellectual level by most of the faculty...the dialogue precipitated by the Afro-American Society between students and staff has served to bridge the gap of mutual understanding."

The problem of mutual understanding appears to be central to the success and meaningful integration of compensatory programs into the college environment. Too often the non-traditional student encounters a predominantly white middle class environment where neither faculty nor fellow students in general have much, if any, experience with minority group cultures. Consequently, the college environment is often viewed with suspicion, and perceived as being hostile and insensitive. On the other hand, faculty members reported feeling awkward and uncomfortable in attempting to work with these students on an individual basis. It seems clear that the success and failure of students, and of programs in general, is intimately related to this culture gap which often manifests itself in the form of counter productive attitudes on the part of members of the college community.

The problem extends far beyond the adequacy of extra-curricular activities and the fostering of mutual understanding between the faculty and students. Several institutions revealed that many of the non-traditional students who are transferring or dropping out have done well academically, but are leaving because the social milieu of the college made remaining intolerable for them. Students interviewed often expressed the feeling of being isolated and not being accepted as a legitimate part of the academic community. The problem was particularly acute on campuses that had programs involving only token numbers of non-traditional students. Here students spoke of identity problems and of being pressed into assimilating into an alien culture with different values and priorities. Moreover, these students consistently reported that they felt unwelcome in the local community in which the college was located. In the conservative, white middle-class communities surrounding many of the smaller liberal arts and teachers' colleges, the students encountered what often seemed to them an unfriendly environment. For example, the local newspaper in one northeastern Pennsylvania town responded with an editorial two days after the college announced plans for recruiting minority group students. Excerpts from that editorial are as follows:

> ______________ College revealed last week that it is in the process of recruiting Negro students for the 1970-71 academic year. This practice has proven troublesome for other colleges especially in the northeast, and we feel it isn't in the best interest of the student or the college ...to go out to the hinterlands and actually recruit students simply because they are Negro is wrong...this type of recruitment also often encourages the admission of unqualified students. No recruiting of minority group students should take place, but they should be given every consideration for admissions when they qualify under normal standards.

To the extent that these statements reflect the dominant attitudes of the larger community, it is clear that the problem goes beyond the "town and gown" controversy. It is equally clear that colleges have not made notable efforts to educate or involve the local communities in the new development of the college. Yet in addition, it is almost inevitable that there will be problems in community relations which even the best efforts of the institution may not be able to prevent.

It remains a significant problem that on many campuses, non-academic conditions exist which may preclude the students' taking full advantage of the educational experience. The mix of social, political, economic, and other troubling forces bearing down upon the non-traditional student are often more powerful than the "remedial" and "special services" provisions offered by the institutions. Moreover, the survey data clearly indicate that, by and large, colleges and universities have not directed their energies this way to any appreciable extent.

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

An analysis of survey data indicates that non-traditional students have been as successful as regularly admitted students. In terms of grade point averages the non-traditional students, despite their educational and economic handicaps, are performing at a level almost equal to their regularly admitted counterparts. The following tabular summary indicates that at the conclusion of the freshman year the typical non-traditional student was approximately one-third of a grade point below his regularly admitted counterpart.

TABLE IV

TOTAL MEAN GPA'S FOR REGULAR AND NON-TRADITIONAL STUDENTS *

	Mean GPA	
	Male	Female
Regular freshman students	2.43	2.58
Non-traditional freshman students	2.14	2.28

N=267 institutions reporting usable data
*based on data collected for the 1968-69 freshman year
grading scale A=4, B=3, C=2, D=1

Available data also suggest that the non-traditional students improve their academic performance after the transitional shock of the freshman year, and begin closing the performance gap during the sophomore and junior years.

The second criterion of success used in the survey was comparative attrition rates for regular and non-traditional students. Here it was found that the non-traditional students had a slightly lower drop-out rate than their regularly admitted counterparts as indicated by the following table:

TABLE V

AVERAGE ATTRITION FOR INSTITUTIONS REPORTING USABLE DATA*

(ACADEMIC YEAR 1968-69)

	Mean dropout percentage at end of freshman year
Total freshman population..................	18.85%
Non-traditional freshman (female)..........	15.16%
Non-traditional freshman (male)............	18.54%

*N=185

Follow-up interviews with students and staff members, however, indicated that caution should be exercised in generalizing and interpreting these survey results. For example, the attrition data are based on retention rates for the freshman year. Yet it is known that many of the institutions make a deliberate attempt to carry the non-traditional student through the freshman and frequently the sophomore year in spite of a scholastic record which would normally preclude retention. The rationale behind this policy is a recognition of the transitional character of the freshman year for these students, and of the need to reduce the anxiety of potential failure while concentrating on building an adequate social, psychological, and educational support level for subsequent years.

It is also true that in most instances the grade point averages for non-traditional students were based on something less than a full course load. However, the extent to which this condition compromises the validity of the GPA comparison is questionable, given the multiplicity of variables affecting the GPA's of both groups. Another factor to be considered in the comparison of grade point averages is the practice of some faculty members of establishing less stringent standards of performance for minority group students. Their rationale seems to be that since these students have deprived educational backgrounds, the teacher should limit his demands and expectations. Though these individuals may be well meaning, it is perfectly clear that the net impact of this differential system of rewards and expectations has widespread negative implications for the non-traditional student. It should be noted that none of the responding institutions reported the compromising of academic standards or the acceptance of a differential grading policy. Yet the extensiveness of this practice remains unknown. Despite these potentially contaminating factors, it must be acknowledged that the academic performance of non-traditional students has exceeded the expectations of many institutions.

DISCONTINUED PRACTICES

The survey attempted to ascertain those program practices which have been discontinued. Institutions were asked to list practices which were initiated as a part of their compensatory program but subsequently discontinued, and to state the reasons for their discontinuance. The most significant finding was the relatively high percentage of institutions reporting that they have discontinued their pre-college prep programs. Mention has already been made of the critical importance and demonstrated effectiveness of pre-college prep programs in establishing a foundation of social, psychological, and scholastic support for non-traditional students prior to their freshman year. What is most disheartening is the fact that three-fourths of the institutions reporting the discontinuance of pre-college efforts cited "lack of funds" as the reason for discontinuance of the practice. The second most frequently mentioned reason was that students found it difficult to participate in the summer experience because of family responsibilities and economic considerations. The most unfortunate aspect of this finding is that the pre-college prep program seems to be a strategy of demonstrated value, relatively free of technical problems, and apparently much more effective than other interventions. If lack of financial resources is the only obstacle to implementation, it might be advisable for institutions to consider shifting resources to put more emphasis on this demonstrably effective area.

Other practices reportedly being discontinued were, for the most part, judged to be relatively ineffective. It is comforting to note that in most cases the practice was not in fact discontinued, but frequently modified substantially to meet the needs of students as they were revealed in the on-going conduct of the program. Frequently, colleges reported the development and substitution of other strategies to fill the void created by the discontinued practice. For example, many institutions reported the discontinuance of non-credit remedial courses. In some instances the colleges simply began offering the same remedial courses for credit; other institutions made substantial changes in modes of instruction and underlying theoretical assumptions, often referring to the new courses as "developmental" or "compensatory" courses; and still other institutions moved in the direction of completely absorbing the "remediation" effort into a comprehensive developmental learning center often open to all students at the college. This acknowledgement on the part of the college of new learning, re-defined objectives, and restructured programs based on experience is to be commended.

One college report, for example, stated:

> For the first two years the pre-college summer program ran well into the afternoon and evening as we attempted to touch far too many bases. Students became restless, bored, and overburdened and experience of being in the program tended to be a chore. All courses were remedial with no credit. We have now arranged the summer program to cover the morning hours, freeing students to hold jobs in the afternoon, to study, or do whatever they wish. Also, we have included the offering of credit courses. The results, especially from the standpoint of incentive and morale, have been very significant.

PROGRAM EVALUATION

The survey attempted to elicit the objective and subjective methods employed in the evaluation of compensatory programs and specific practices. In terms of objective evaluation the results indicate that institutions tend to take a very programmatic approach.

The use of student grade point averages as the criterion measure of program effectiveness was clearly the norm. To a somewhat lesser extent, institutions combined the use of GPA with a standardized test measure. The evaluative effort, then, is generally a comparative analysis between the non-traditional and the regular student using a scholastic achievement index. The subjective evaluation of programs was also similar among most colleges: informal feedback from faculty and staff; periodic progress and problems sessions; or annual student essays or questionnaires. What we have, in fact, is a widespread pattern of student evaluation as opposed to program evaluation. Yet, the logic that links student performance to program success is tenuous at best. In short, there has been relatively little systematic evaluation of compensatory programs -- and the evaluation of specific compensatory practices has received only scant attention in isolated instances. Program evaluation appears to be synonymous with student assessment. The fallacy of this approach can be demonstrated by an examination of the Clark and Plotkin (1963) study which gives evidence of a relatively high minority group student success rate, in spite of the fact that these students were not participants in a special program at all.

It must be noted that there were several remarkable exceptions to the evaluation model described above. One state university college in New York summarized its evaluation procedure as follows:

> The evaluation of the program focused on two areas. First, students' subjective perceptions were measured to evaluate reactions to the program, staff and fellow participants. Additionally, students' self-appraisals of their own needs, the root sources of these needs and kinds of help stressed by the program were assessed. Further, students' perceptions of personal gains in the educational, vocational, intrapersonal and interpersonal realms were measured. Finally, the program's impact was analyzed in terms of students' reports of men and different experiences and

> altered outlooks in life. The "hard" data of student performance served as the second focus of evaluation. The average student course load for each semester, the percentages of academic credits earned, the distribution of grade point averages and the distribution of final academic standings were each reviewed and analyzed.

The above institution forwarded a 33-page report of their annual program evaluation, plus specially designed instruments to evaluate the counseling service, the individual courses, textbooks, instructors, and tutoring services; self-appraisal; and personal experience. It seems clear that in this particular instance an attempt is being made not only to assess student performance, but also to gain some insight into the relative impact of specific practices, and the contribution of specific courses. Working largely with consumer perceptions, the institution identifies those factors that facilitate as well as impede the successful movement of non-traditional students through their collegiate experience.

Another university in Michigan delineated specific program objectives, structured a program designed to meet the objectives, and outlined specific evaluative methods to assess the realization of each of the objectives. The difficulty in attributing definite value to the separate program components, and the multiple impact of components on individual objectives makes this approach a formidable task. Yet, in terms of program development and modification, it represents a step in the right direction.

For the most part, it is necessary to rely on the school's own efforts at evaluation of its programs, since few if any outside researchers have been permitted to make any sort of study of programs or the students in them. The reasons for this reluctance on the part of program directors and staff are understandable, for too often evaluation of an experimental program takes place in a "yes-or-no" context, where anything short of a favorable evaluation will be interpreted to mean "it doesn't work," and the program's existence may be in jeopardy. In addition, some program directors may be motivated by a sincere concern for their students' emotional well-being, which they feel will not be furthered by singling them out as objects for scrutiny. On the other hand, until meaningful and well-designed evaluation efforts are made, those involved in compensatory efforts must struggle along in the dark, not knowing where they are going wrong or what they are doing right.

In summary, most attempts at program evaluation have, in fact, been evaluations of student performance in the programs. Rather than using evaluative techniques as a strategy for program modification and improvement, there is strong evidence that many college administrators and state legislators look at evaluation as a means to legitimate the curtailment of such programs. Given this phenomenon, program directors and staff members are preoccupied with meeting this perceived challenge, and consequently spend an inordinate amount of time and energy in efforts designed to insure the refunding of their programs. If program evaluation is to be of any meaningful value, the directors and staff members must be free to examine, question, and analyze all of the specific program components and their interaction within the institution -- in an atmosphere of openness, trust, and sincerity on the part of all members of the college community who are committed to the continuance and improvement of the college's program.

PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION

The organization and administration of compensatory programs within the structure of the institution is varied and complex, and while it is difficult to discern definite patterns, certain problems and practices do tend to stand out. In many instances the programs have not been institutionalized; that is, they are not a part of the structure or social system of the institution. They are often separate and detached from the total enterprise, and as such maintain a "temporary status." Consistent with this phenomenon is the tendency to create new positions for program personnel, e.g. "assistant dean for ..." or "special director of ..." These positions are frequently untenured and considered to be of non-academic character. These conditions leave programs and program staff in a precarious position, often perceived by the larger academic community as "second class", "temporary", and as not having comparable status or prestige. On the other hand, one must be mindful of the politics of academia which generally preclude the granting of academic rank and status to those who have not struggled through the conventional academic pathways. It is believed that in numerous cases the creation of "marginal positions" for directors of special programs was a viable strategy for gaining them entry into the collegiate structure.

The institutions surveyed reported the characteristics of program directors (shown below):

TABLE VI
CHARACTERISTICS OF PROGRAM
DIRECTORS

	Guidance	Psychology	Education	Other
Area of specialization of director (N=290)	93 (32%)	25 (8.6%)	48 (16.5%)	124 (42.7%)
Highest degree of director (N=290)	B.A. 30 (10.3%)	M.A. 212 (73.1%)	Ph.D. 48 (16.5%)	
Ethnicity of director N=261)	Black 96 (36.8%)	White 138 (52.9%)	Other 27 (10.3%)	
Sex (N=334)	Male 261 (78%)	Female 73 (22%)		

The above data suggest that individuals from varied backgrounds are serving as directors of these special programs. No one race has a monopoly on these positions, and many compensatory programs have non-minority directors. Male directors, holding the masters degree, appear to be the norm.

The small number of program directors holding high-status doctoral degrees may be still another explanation for the fact that not many programs have been given established, high-status positions in the university. There are many observations which can be made about this situation. A measure of the institution's commitment to the special program may be the stature of the people it recruits for leadership positions in that program. On the other hand, some institutions are to be commended for placing less emphasis on academic credentials and more on other qualifications which may be more relevant, such as ethnic identity, past practical experience, etc. Some may argue that it is difficult to find persons with these kinds of qualifications who also have higher degrees. This may well be true, yet the survey shows that more than 50% of program directors are white. The relatively small number of doctoral degrees among program personnel, and the frequently low status of the programs, thus cannot be explained away by the difficulty of finding minority group persons with higher degrees.

A problem of increasing magnitude is that of the role enacted by the program director. It is a difficult, if not impossible, task for an individual to be a proposal writer, an administrator, a counselor, and liaison to the faculty and college administration. Program directors reported difficulties in communicating effectively with college officials because they assumed roles that were not consistent with what was expected of them. On the other hand, several directors reported being alienated from their students as a result of their having been identified with the "establishment" or the power hierarchy of the institution. A considerable number of programs are having administrative troubles, ranging from student dissatisfaction with an "establishment" director, to administrative dissatisfaction with the activism of the director.

The academic qualifications and credentials of the director usually would seem to have little effect on the problems he or she will encounter; more important factors are likely to be the individual personality, the size of the program and the status allocated to it within the university, its impact upon the school, the kind of staff available, and the amount of funding. Even with the most favorable array of such factors, it remains a difficult task to perform all the functions required of the head of a typical program and at the same time retain the most desirable kind of personal relations with students, faculty, and school administration.

Chapter IV: Transition from School to College - a Review of the Literature *

As used in higher education, the term disadvantaged is vague and increasingly unacceptable to those deemed disadvantaged by others. It remains, however, the term generally used to designate groups of students from ethnic or socio-economic backgrounds that have in the past been underrepresented in American colleges and universities. Practically, the term is now used most to describe students, regardless of financial or social circumstances, who are Afro-American, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American or American Indian. As a matter of rhetoric, the term includes white students from families that are both poor and isolated from the middle class. Actually, the term is almost always used to refer to students who can be grouped in some simple way and, except for occasional references to Appalachia, white students are not prominent in programs avowedly for disadvantaged students. Ideological movements involving "Third World" coalitions sometimes include Orientals, but the rate of college attendance of Orientals is apparently very high and their educational achievement is approximately the same as that of the general population (Coleman et al., 1966).

For the purpose of this chapter, we shall follow the customary usage and consider the disadvantaged to be members of groups that have historically been underrepresented in higher education and which, as groups, are clearly below

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national averages on economic and educational indices. Much of the literature is concerned with black Americans.

This is a particularly awkward time to review this research. Whether we consider that concern for expansion of educational opportunity can be traced to the academies of colonial times or that problems of exclusion and denial of access have just been discovered, it is clear that the admission of large numbers of disadvantaged youths to colleges has been a matter of high priority for a very short time.

Five or six colleges have a long history of concern for black youths, but a substantial effort to increase enrollment in nominally unsegregated colleges probably did not begin earlier than the founding of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students in 1949 (The Fund, 1956). During the 1950's the United States was preoccupied with the desegregation of public schools, especially after the Supreme Court decision in Brown vs. Board of Education in May 1954. Gordon and Wilkerson (1966) considered the literature of higher education to be barren of attention to the problem before 1960. In 1964, they asked 2,093 higher institutions to report any special programs and practices to help disadvantaged students. Only 610 institutions responded, and only 224 of these reported any special program or practice. Considering the difficulties of answering and asking questions about the existence of desirable practices, perhaps the most that can be said is that by the early 1960's at least 10% of America's higher education institutions were sufficiently aware of the disadvantaged to claim some special activity.

It was not until the appearance of the Coleman Report, Equality of Educational Opportunity (1966), that there were substantial data concerning the extent of racial segregation in higher education. These data, based upon enrollments in 1965-66, indicated that America had one set of colleges that was about 98% black and another set that was about 98% white.

It is impossible to say at what rate higher education might have developed a sense of urgency about the enrollment of minority youth in the normal course of events, for there was to be no normal course of events. The assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. in April 1968 precipitated a crisis of conscience and physical confrontation between college administrators and militant black youth. This crisis was in preparation for many years, but it occurred in the spring and summer of 1968 and established the academic year 1968-69 as the time when most institutions moved the problems of the disadvantaged near the top of their lists of urgent problems.

One consequence of this chronology is that in the summer of 1969 a number of substantial studies were in progress or were completed but not reported. Thus, when this Review appears or within a few months thereafter, the research literature will contain a number of important items which can not be reported in this chapter. A second difficulty associated with the timing of this report involves how the basic problems are defined. In the past considerable attention was given to talent search projects, to studies of conventional tests, or to remedial courses; all were designed either to find or create conventional college students from disadvantaged populations. It is now much more generally recognized that, as occasionally noted in earlier times

(Eels, 1953; Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966) the more central problem is the reconstruction of the educational system to accommodate the population, rather than vice versa. American higher education, historically heterogeneous but usually designed for some selected population, is now asked to provide a useful experience for most young people, including those who can not afford to pay the bills, are not "prepared for college," do not have "college ability," and do not arise from the backgrounds that have provided even the self-made men of earlier times (McGrath, 1966). This does not make the research reported here irrelevant, but it pushes much of it to the side to make way for questions of purpose and organization that will generate important research in the future.

Finally, no orderly account of research is now or will be possible as long as the crisis in values remains at its present pitch. The literature is immense - a recently issued bibliography on "school integration," in cluding much material on the transition from school to college, contains 3,100 references (Integrated Education, 1969), most of recent date. Most of this literature is polemical, and almost all of it is based upon arguable and unsettled assumptions concerning such matters as the purpose of institutions, the proper organization of society, and the best relation between study and action.

The appropriateness of research as an approach to solving social problems is under attack, partly because studies, demonstrations, projects, and reports have seldom been connected to dramatic institutional change. But confrontations have, in at least a few cases, been visibly connected to the appearance of change. It may be that research and confrontation tend to be their own rewards, but in each case only to those who do the research or make the confrontation. Those who have either faith or a stake in the proposition that the collection and analysis of data is a fruitful way to spend scarce resources in connection with disadvantaged youth must pursue with some energy the clarification of goals without which their ordinary work of data collection and analysis does not seem to have much point.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND COLLEGE ATTENDANCE

The best available data concerning educational attainment and college attendance by disadvantaged students are for Afro-Americans, who are the largest and most frequently studied disadvantaged population, excluding always underclass whites who have not yet had much attention. For the United States as a whole, estimates in recent years have been that black students comprise between 5-7% of the total college enrollment (Coleman, 1966; Astin, Bayer and Baruch, 1968). By the mid-1960's slightly less than half of all these students were in colleges identifiable as "predominantly Negro." This was a substantial decrease since 1950 when about two-thirds of such students were in the predominantly Negro colleges (Jaffe, Adams, and Meyers, 1968). Even so, enrollments in the Negro institutions increased 21% in the two year period 1963-64 to 1965-66. This was very close to the national increase for all higher institutions (Commission on Higher Educational Opportunity in the South, 1967). It is difficult to be precise even about enrollment in the predominantly Negro colleges. Different studies use different lists of institutions and at least one new institution opened as a de facto Negro college without any clear intention of being such (Federal City College, 1968).

Enrollment of Afro-American students in predominantly white colleges was impossible to estimate until recently and may well become impossible again. The first substantial data available were given by Coleman et al. (1966) and were based on estimates made by officials of institutions in connection with Opening Fall Enrollment Survey of 1965. Only 92% of institutions responded and the estimates were of unknown accuracy. Individual institutions were not identified. Even so, these figures were extremely valuable since, even with generous allowances for error, they documented the extreme segregation existing in higher education.

In 1967 and 1968 the Civil Rights Office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare required colleges to file estimates of enrollments, classified by ethnic group, as evidence of compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. These estimates were published for each reporting college in The Chronicle of Higher Education (1968, 1969). Considerable numbers of institutions were not included in the published reports, although it is not clear that such institutions actually failed to certify their compliance with the Civil Rights Act. Users of the tables have found absurd entries, and the published report for 1968-69 is accompanied by an assertion that the data are unreliable. Even so, much of the data is apparently accurate and these reports make possible studies of the ethnic distribution of students in state systems or the higher institutions of particular metropolitan areas - matters of much importance. These data will no longer be collected by the Department. No doubt, there were many policy considerations involved in this decision, but certainly the research community would have been well served by a decision to improve enforcement and data collection rather than abandon the project.

For the nation as a whole, some of the most fundamental statistics have to do with the rapid increase during the 1960's of high school graduation for non-whites. During the period 1960-66, median years of school completed for non-white persons 25 to 29 years old increased from 10.5 to 12.1 for males, and from 11.1 to 11.9 for females. During that same period, the per cent of non-white males completing four years of high school increased from 36 to 53, while for females the increase was from 41 to 49 (Bureau of the Census, 1968). These figures are of great importance to higher education, for the high school graduate defines the population eligible to enter college.

In the Negro population 25 to 29 years of age, the percentage of those completing four years of college or more increased from 4.3 to 6.8 in the period 1960-65. During the same period white college graduates in the same group increased from 11.7 to 13.7% (Bureau of the Census, 1968). Presumably, however, the rapid increase in non-white high school graduation during that period will be reflected in the Negro college graduation rates of the late 1960's and early 1970's.

The figures above are notable in that non-white males had substantially lower educational achievement than females in 1960 but had higher attainment by 1966. This is also reflected in the college graduation figures where females exceeded males 4.6% to 3.9% in 1960, but males led 7.4% to 6.4% by 1965

(Bureau of the Census, 1968).

Although data on black students are inadequate, the situation for other ethnic groups is chaotic. Mexican-Americans constitute the second largest disadvantaged minority but they, with the Puerto Ricans, can not be enumerated except through the awkward device of the "Spanish surname." Grebler (1965) gave an example of use of this device, working from census data. A minority study of this population was completed by a research group under the direction of Grebler at UCLA. The central report of this study is in press (Free Press, Glencoe, Ill.) as is a specific study of Mexican-American education by Thomas Carter of the University of Texas, El Paso (College Entrance Examination Board). These reports will be published in 1969-70.

In general, data on the economic and educational status of Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and American Indians suggest that these populations are at least as disadvantaged as Afro-Americans (Coleman et al., 1966), but there are enormous local variations. For example, the variation in educational attainment of Mexican-Americans in Texas alone varied in 1960 from 8.7 grades in Beaumont to 3.9 grades in Brownsville (Grebler, 1967). This is like local fluctuations in educational attainments of Afro-Americans. In 1960, for example, Mississippi with more than 900,000 black citizens produced 15,000 black high school graduates, while Florida with 880,000 black citizens had more than 40,000 high school graduates (Jaffe, Adams and Meyers, 1968). Again, it is important to emphasize th. the educational opportunity available to disadvantaged students who lack the financial resources and sophistication to command the facilities of the nation as a whole is extremely dependent upon local circumstances. As several researchers have shown, the establishment of a junior college where there has been none can affect poor students to a very great degree, as can local variations in financial aid policies or in the conduct of lower schools. (Koos, 1944; Medsker and Trent, 1965; Bashaw, 1965; Willingham, 1969).

GUIDANCE AND THE SEARCH FOR TALENT

During the 1950's a considerable amount of attention was given to the need for finding and developing America's human resources. Much of this was from a "manpower" point of view; that is, research was conducted and reports issued demonstrating the loss to society resulting from an inefficient system of talent development. A national manpower council was established at Columbia University in 1951; it proceeded with a series of conferences and reports on national manpower requirements and problems (National Manpower Council, 1954). National studies of the loss of talent through inefficiencies in the social system, including particularly education, were made by Wolfe (1954), and Cole (1956). The National Merit Scholarship program was established to select talented youth for scholarships that would enable them to attend college (National Merit Scholarship Corporation, 1955). Colleges organized their own financial aid programs more efficiently than before and developed the principle that financial aid should be based upon need, as well as upon talent, to conserve financial resources for talent development (College

Entrance Examination Board, 1956). Some attention in these reports was given to populations that are now called "disadvantaged."

One of the earliest major attempts to develop the talent of disadvantaged junior high school and high school students was the Demonstration Guidance Project carried on in New York City from 1956 to 1962. This project was organized as a demonstration rather than as closely controlled research. But a detailed assessment of the project made it appear that a determined effort, with strong financial support, to improve the instructional and guidance services available to a disadvantaged urban population resulted in a substantial increase in the number of such youth going to college (Wrightstone et al., 1963). This conclusion was considered to be of major importance at the time, but financial support was not available for the continuation of the program.

By the end of the 1950's a number of scholars had begun to question the definition of "talent" as formal academic ability to the exclusion of social, entrepreneurial and creative abilities not perfectly correlated with scholastic aptitude. A major statement of the position was made by McClellan, Baldwin, Bronfenbrener and Strodtbeck (1958). Nevertheless, such attention as was given to disadvantaged populations continued to emphasize: (1) the discovery of talent among youth who were being denied access to higher education by financial circumstances, racial discrimination, lack of motivation, or inadequate guidance; and (2) the development of talent through improved instruction that might create conventionally able college students from populations that were educationally undernourished. It would be incorrect to say that these approaches to the disadvantaged are in total eclipse, but certainly they are not in the dominant position they held in the previous decade.

As early as 1953, Eels, discussing cultural bias in intelligence tests, declared that such tests are adequate measures of "scholastic aptitude" as long as schools remained designed for the white middle class. He called for radical revision in educational programs rather than for attempts to develop conventional ability in these populations. This was later substantially the position of Gordon and Wilkerson (1966).

Coleman produced data showing astonishingly high apparent intention to attend college among black youth in the mid-1960's. In metropolitan areas of the Western States (to take the extreme case), 85% of Negro youth in the study said they either definitely or probably would go on to college in the following year.

Financial problems are still reported by students as major reasons for not continuing education beyond secondary school (Tillery, Donovan, and Sherman, 1969; Knoel, 1968) -- an opinion which can scarcely be doubted by anyone familiar with the financial responsibilities and burdens of disadvantaged youth. Nevertheless, circumstances have changed since the 1950's. Jaffe and Adams (1969) reported that between 1959 and 1965 the intention to go to college increased by 6% among students from affluent families, but the rise for poor students was 25%. Johnson and Reed (1969) reported that 35% of college families have incomes below the national median. Willingham (1968), reviewing this and other evidence, concluded that "expansion of educational opportunity necessarily involves expanded financial support" and emphasized the importance of the establishment of low-cost community institutions. The importance of the availability of appropriate local institutions is emphasized by the finding of Jaffe, Adams and Meyers (1968) in studying students of predominantly Negro colleges, that median family income was only $2,696 for students in Southern two-year Negro institutions.

The change of context in which financial problems of disadvantaged students are viewed is from the idea of financial aid for talented students to the idea of access to higher education for most, if not all, youth. But if compensatory education, motivation, and financial support are seen in a somewhat different way now, the popularity of talent searching is very much reduced, although perhaps it should not be. Earlier expectations that disadvantaged populations are rich in conventional scholastic ability have been disappointed. Coleman et al. (1966) showed low performance on educational tests for Afro-American, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and American Indian students. Kendrick (1967) pointed out that colleges will remain segregated racially if they confine their efforts to discovering talented black students resembling the white students already enrolled.

The possibility of increasing basic scholastic ability through compensatory programs has also been questioned. Bloom (1964) emphasized the critical importance of the preschool years in the development of cognitive ability. Shaycoft (1967) reported no discernible effects on verbal ability from differences in high school programs over four years of instruction. Jensen (1969) announced that compensatory education has failed; he argued for the importance of genetic rather than environmental factors in intelligence and scholastic achievement. However, he argued further that "one of the great and relatively untapped reservoirs of mental ability in the disadvantaged, it appears from our research, is the basic ability to learn." He proposed that schools find new ways to utilize the strengths of children whose major strength is not conventional scholastic aptitude. At this writing, Jensen's position has been criticized by, among others, Kagan, Hunt, Crow, Bereiter, Elkin, Cronbach and Brazziel (Harvard Educational Review, 1969). This controversy is likely to be one of the livelier ones in psychology during the next few years. However, the central theoretical issue is an ancient and classic one in psychology, and Jensen's general position with respect to educational practice is much like that of Gordon and Wilkerson (1966) and Eels (1953) cited earlier, although probably much different in detail. The question not answered by anyone is precisely what talents require what program to what ends.

The question remains whether there are now significant numbers of talented students in disadvantaged populations who do not have access to higher education. There is strangely little evidence on this point, although it would seem both important and comparatively simple, considering the amount of testing that is done, for school systems to find out and report in detail what is happening to poor and minority youth who have done well in school or have good scores on tests.

A study now being conducted at the College Entrance Examination Board and the Educational Testing Service, and a somewhat different study at the American Association of Junior Colleges may soon provide some evidence as to the existence and disposition of talented minority youth in nine or ten major cities. But we have not found reports suggesting that school systems have reliable information about the educational and occupational careers of their disadvantaged graduates and dropouts. Willingham (1969) cited early state studies by Berdie (1964) and Little (1959), but remarked that "few states have anything remotely resembling the sort of information on their high school seniors which would permit and encourage a thorough analysis of opportunity for post-secondary education and its outcomes." Continued development of Project TALENT (Flanagan, et al., 1962), Project SCOPE (Tillery, Donovan, and Sherman, 1969), and studies by Astin and others at the American Council on Education (Astin, Panos, and Creagher, 1967) provide some data.

It is true that the idea of the talent search as a method of singling out a few gifted minority students is no longer acceptable in the black community (Lane, 1969), or probably in other organized minority movements. The idea is certainly discredited that national educational strategy in a period of developing universality in higher education for whites can be based upon talent searching in minority communities only. But, in the absence of detailed information, there is the possibility that artificial impediments to opportunity for potentially talented youth will be ignored while public policy of the future, like that of the past, will be based upon the assumption that all black and brown students are exactly alike. If access to higher education for the disadvantaged turns out to mean routine assignment to the "general" curricula of comprehensive colleges, just as universal secondary education has often meant routine assignment to the "general" curriculum of comprehensive high schools, it is difficult to see what will have been gained.

Manning (1968) reviewed the difficulties of using existing testing programs with disadvantaged students; he called for the redirection of testing at the point of transition from school to college to emphasize diagnosis and to improve the distributive and evaluative functions of educational systems. Both the American College Testing Program (1966) and the College Entrance Examination Board (1968) recently introduced new programs or redirected interpretive materials toward broader measurement for the purpose of junior colleges and other "open door" institutions. These are very faint and even primitive beginnings, but they may revive the idea of the talent search in a totally new context.

The great mystery of the literature pertaining to disadvantaged populations is in the role of school guidance programs. The encouragement and assistance of disadvantaged students in aspiring to college and successfully overcoming the many difficulties in transition is widely believed to be one of the functions of guidance programs. However, in the most recent Review of Educational Research on the subject of guidance and counseling (April 1969), there was no mention of disadvantaged students except in a brief discussion of programs in higher education, and three citations under "counseling students with special problems." Island, author of the latter chapter, noted that "research on counseling black students in public schools has begun to appear in the literature." Certainly, the remarkable number and variety of college placement programs for disadvantaged youth that have developed outside the schools, with or without federal support (Educational Talent Search

Program, 1968) suggests that there is a crisis in guidance services in the schools. If so, this crisis is not reflected in the research literature or in articles appearing, for example, in the Personnel and Guidance Journal.

Coleman et al. (1966) studied certain aspects of guidance services by questionnaires directed to the schools in connection with the massive study, Equality of Educational Opportunity. It was found that black pupils have slightly more access to counselors, as judged by counselor-pupil ratios (but counselor load is still high). Outside the South, counselors of black youth were usually white (80%). For black students, especially girls, the fit between aspiration and ability was much better in schools where there were black counselors. These data are far from conclusive - this is a very small part of the report - but they do represent an approach to providing data about matters of importance that are much discussed but little studied.

Although we found little appropriate literature, we think it is important to say here that in our experience, members of disadvantaged minorities are extraordinarily bitter about failures both of omission and commission by guidance personnel. The usual complaint is that guidance officers in the schools do not "relate" to minority youth, that these youth are assigned to vocational curricula en masse on the basis of ethnic membership, and that they are not properly encouraged and assisted in seeking higher education. Regardless of the merit of these criticisms - and certainly no simple set of charges can properly be applied to the large and diverse guidance profession in the United States - it is extremely serious that there is so little information about the nature and effectiveness of actual guidance programs in schools that enroll large numbers of disadvantaged youth. Enormous sums of money are expended in support of the schools and no external agency can hope to achieve the efficiency in assisting the student that is possible in the school where he spends most of his time. It is a major failure of educational research that this central process in the transition from school to college should be so little studied and reported.

ADMISSION TO COLLEGE

Although the great majority of disadvantaged students now in college attend institutions of little or no selectivity (Coleman et al., 1966; Kendrick, 1967), it is perhaps not surprising that a disproportionate amount of research related to transition can be found in the literature on selection of students by colleges. If students are not in college, someone must be keeping them out. Even the most routine operation of admissions requires or strongly encourages the local production of correlational analyses and other studies using quantitive methods. These can be published and are, and they inflate the literature. It is usually assumed that college admissions is a special case of the simpler kinds of industrial selection - that is, the problem is defined by a job definition and the available labor pool. This makes for apparent ease in the conduct of research. Thresher (1966) provided a thorough critique of existing admissions systems and forecast radical changes in admissions as part of radical changes in the role, function, and nature of higher education. But most of the research that can now be reported considers the college as fixed and the student as variable.

The trend in the selection of researchable problems has followed the general pattern found in the broader area of transition from school to college for the student population at large: an extensive emphasis on the identification and selection of students for admissions to college and less on institutional characteristics. Moreover, compensatory program elements and their complex interactions with institutional factors in relation to student variables have not been adequately considered (Kurland, 1967).

Admissions Credentials

"Admissions credentials" refer to all those factors considered as important indices of probable success in college. Such factors as previous academic scholarship (usually defined in terms of high school grades and rank), aptitude, recommendations from relevant authority figures (parents, teachers, community leaders, etc.), personal interviews, biographical profiles, and non-intellective personality factors are examples of "credentials" which colleges may plausibly use in making admissions decisions.

Identification and Selection

Research on the identification and selection of disadvantaged students has centered primarily on the examination of the validity of two traditional predictors of college success: high school scholarship and preadmissions test scores. Numerous studies and reviews of the literature have produced a number of generalizations that have been challenged recently in regard to this sample of the general student population. Generally high-school scholarship (i.e., over-all average or rank in the graduating class) has been found to be the best single predictor of college success (e.g., ACT Program, 1965; Beatley, 1922; Garrett, 1949; Richards and Lutz, 1968; Tribilcock, 1938). High-school scholarship correlates higher with first-year freshman average than with any lesser or greater amount of the college record (Garrett, 1949). Women have been found to be more predictable academically than men (Munday, 1967; Seashore, 1962; Stanley, 1967). The efficiency of prediction has not been substantially increased beyond that obtained through the optimal weighting of a single aptitude or scholastic ability test consisting of one or two scores and high school grade point average (Carlson and Milstein, 1958; Cochran and Davis, 1950; Danskin and Hoyt, 1960; Davis, 1965; Dwyer et al., 1940; Gladfelter, 1936; Henderson and Masten, 1959; Hills, 1965; Schmitz, 1937; Webb and McCall, 1953). Surveys of the literature by Cosland (1953), Durflinger (1943), Garrett (1949), Giusti (1964), Harris (1940), The Joint Committee on School College Relations of the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers and the National Association of Secondary School Principals (1962), Segel (1934), Travers (1949), and Wagner (1934) give ample evidence of research findings obtained during the past thirty years which have contributed to the above generalizations.

As the press for post-secondary education became more intense among black and other minority groups, and as it became increasingly apparent that predominantly white institutions were systematically excluding such groups from their campuses - for instance, less than 2% of the general student population at primarily white colleges are black (Kurland, 1967) - as a consequence of their admissions policies, a question about the adequacy of traditional measures of probable collegiate success has come to the forefront (Gordon, 1965; Kendrick, 1965; Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, 1964). More specifically, serious questions about the predictive validity of such indices as high school scholarship and test scores for students whose latent talent has not been previously realized has been posed by many researchers (Brown and Russell, 1964; Cameron, 1968; Clark and Plotkin, 1963; Fishman and Pasanella, 1960; Fishman et al., 1964).

Such probing inquiries have motivated other researchers to investigate the differential predictability of various instrumental assessments and high school scholarship on college success for non-white (primarily black) students. Studies conducted by Boney (1966); Hills, Klock and Lewis (1963); Roberts (1962); and Stanley and Porter (1967) give evidence that the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) of the College Entrance Examination Board is as valid for predicting grades of students in predominantly black colleges as for predicting the college grades of white students. Further, when SAT scores were used in combination with school rank, similar predictive validities have been found between black and white students (Olsen, 1957; Roberts (1964). The possible bias of the SAT in predicting college grades of black students at integrated colleges was investigated by Cleary (1968). She concluded that there were no significant differences in prediction for black and white from the two Eastern colleges selected for the study. Although there was a difference in the regression lines for black and white students at a third college (located in the Southwest), it was a matter of predicting black students' college grades too high by the use of the white or common regression lines. Morgan (1968) discussed the utility of the SAT-Mathematics score for identifying "calculated risk" students. Munday (1965) found that the American College Testing Program (ACTP) battery was as useful for predicting the grades of socially disadvantaged students as it was for predicting the grades for other students.

A few studies produced some evidence that perhaps the relative utility of high school grades as predictors of college success for students from socially and economically excluded ethnic groups should be reappraised (e.g., Thomas and Stanley, 1969). Munday (1965) employed five separate criteria (college English average, college social studies average, college mathematics average, college science average, and overall college average) and found the multiple *R* derived from optimally weighting four high school grades in each category was lower than the multiple *R* derived from the optimal weighting of the four ACT tests. McKelpin (1965) found that the SAT-V for males correlated higher with first semester average grades for entering freshmen than high school grades did with the same criterion at a predominantly black college in Durham, North Carolina. No substantial differences in the predictive validities of the two preadmissions indices were noted in the case of black female students. Re-examination of Cleary's data (1968), mentioned earlier, revealed that for blacks in one of the integrated colleges SAT-V and SAT-M correlated higher with college grade point average than did high school rank. Such relative superiority of test scores over high school grades was noted in the data provided in studies by Funches (1967), Perlberg (1967), and Peterson (1968).

Investigators in two studies have concerned themselves with the manner in which the measure of high school scholarship is derived for purposes of making decisions regarding admissions - a matter of real importance in the recruitment of disadvantaged students. Cramer and Herr (1967) concluded that ranking the entire high school class as opposed to ranking in a college bound/non-college bound dichotomy is as efficient for predictive purposes as any other ranking procedure. Gelso and Klock (1967) found that the total high school average in contrast to the school academic average is important - especially for those colleges using a high school average cutoff point. They concluded that the total average will more often than not exceed the cutoff point and thus allow a greater percentage of student admissions.

Substantial increases in the predictive validity of high school grades that have been adjusted for inter-secondary school variability of grading practices have been reported by Bloom and Peters (1961). However, the value of such efforts has been questioned (Hills, 1965). Lindquist (1963) observed that scaled grades rather than unscaled high school grades could only reduce the variability in predicting college grades by less than 2%.

Biographical Data as Predictors

Although not usually focused on any specific sample of the general student population, results of studies which investigated the value of biographical data as predictors of college success may suggest their use with disadvantaged students.

Although the value of such data as predictors varies according to type of information gathered and the nature of the institution from which criterion college averages are obtained, biographical data were found to make some contribution to the accuracy of prediction (Hills, 1965). Willingham (1964) found encouraging results when he analyzed the application-blank data of his student population rather than relying on separate questionnaires. Brown and Dubois (1964) found certain biographical data of value in predicting college grades for high ability engineering students at Iowa State University. When non-intellectual factors were emphasized in the criterion of college success, a biographical inventory was found to provide consistently higher predictive validity from biographical data (Garcia and Whigham, 1958; Webb, 1960; Hilton and Myers, 1967).

Non-intellective Correlates of Academic Achievement

The quest for non-intellective correlates of college success for college aspirants in general (Cramer and Stevic, 1968) and the disadvantaged student in particular has been discouraging. Studies by Donnan (1968), Frederiksen and Gilbert (1960), Frederiksen and Melville (1954), Holland (1960), Hoyt and Norman (1954), Richards, Holland and Lutz (1967), Spencer and Stallings (1968), Stecker and Voigt (1968), Watson (1967), and others which seemed to imply that non-intellective factors may be useful and that predictability may vary systematically with the nature of the student groups for which the r's are computed (Ghiselli, 1960a, 1960b; Munday, 1968) have motivated a great deal of concern about their usefulness for predicting the college success of students whose academic credentials are questionable. An extensive survey of the literature and valuable insight into this area, as well as the entire problem of predicting collegiate success, were provided by Lavin (1965) and Stein (1963).

Identification of Non Achievers

One of the implications of many studies in which non-intellective factors of college students were investigated is: if enough valid traits can be identified which differentiate students with academic problems from those who are successful, then the identification of successful versus unsuccessful students along with the accompanying prescription of appropriate collegiate experiences is possible. Such studies generally adhered to a cross sectional approach whereby achievers and non-achievers in college were psychometrically compared during the freshman year. Differences on personality variables between those who persist and those who withdraw were obtained, for example, by use of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (Drasgow and McKenzie, 1958; Vaughan, 1967) and the Gough Adjective Check List (Heilbrun, 1962). Although there is a general consensus about the existence of such differences, there is no agreement regarding their specific nature (Hill, 1966). Students who enrolled in the work-study programs from low-income families were found to perform well or slightly better academically than a matched group of more affluent students not in a work-study program (Bradfield, 1967). Katz (1968), reporting on his study of academic motivation, suggested that among low achievers, greater self-criticism and less favorable self-evaluation existed and that these factors tended to be generalized as acquired or secondary reinforcement for the reduction of anxiety levels. Engle, Davis and Muzer (1968), investigating the influence of peer group acceptance on student behavior, supported the idea that acceptance by a peer model can have a positive effect on the scholastic performance of underachievers.

Vaughan (1968a) suggested that there are cognitive and personality factors that differentiate students who are dismissed for academic reasons from those who withdraw voluntarily. Other studies which sought to identify students who are likely to be non-persisters in either a given curriculum or a particular college were conducted by Marks (1967), Vaughan (1968b), Chase (1968), Faunce (1967; 1968), and Demos (1968).

Nominations vs. Test Performance

The use of community or school nominations as opposed to test scores as credentials for admissions to college was suggested by many but employed by few educators and other college personnel who are working in the area of education for the disadvantaged. Although it involves the "cream of the crop" of black students, and hence is not addressed to the urgent problem of the higher education of the academically disadvantaged youth, a recent study gives some insight into the comparative value of these two methods. Blumenfeld (1969) conducted a study to determine what differences may exist in the kinds of students identified by two different methods used in the National Achievement Scholarship Program (NASP) of the National Merit Scholarship Corporation, a program designed to recruit highly talented black youths into higher education. On the basis of their avenue of entrance and/or their test performance on the National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test (NMSQT) (Science Research Associates, 1966), subjects were classified into four groups:

Group 1: Students selected through high school nominations only;

Group 2: Students selected through high school nominations and who also took the NMSQT but scored below the arbitrary cut-off point;

Group 3: Students selected through high school nominations and who also took the NMSQT and scored above the cut-off point; and

Group 4: Students who took the NMSQT only and who scored above the cut-off point.

Using indices of breadth of coverage and rate of success in the competition as the criteria for judging the relative efficiency of each method, Blumenfeld (1969) examined several student and school characteristics of the groups of students, particularly the nomination-only vs. test scores-only groups. He concluded that the typical student who entered competition solely through test scores (Group 4): (a) made a higher score on a test given during the second stage of the screening process; (b) ranked lower in class; (c) had a lower grade-point average; (d) aspired to a higher academic level; (e) came from a larger high school class;

(f) had parents with higher educational attainment; (g) had more friends planning to attend college; (h) had resided in his community for a shorter period; and (i) was younger than the typical student who entered solely through high school nominations (Group 1). Furthermore, the members of Group 4 were more likely to come from a high school which: (a) had a lower proportion of blacks; (b) had more books in the library; (c) was less apt to be a public school ; (d) more often had a chapter of National Honor Society; and (e) more often had a Dean's List. Blumenfeld suggested that the reason Group 4 students (high test scores only) made lower high school grades and rank than did Group 1 students (nominations only) was because they were possibly in superior schools where they were not as visible to the nominators as were their counterparts in relatively less competitive schools where it takes less ability to stand out academically. Moreover, he observed that had the nomination by school method been employed exclusively, Group 4 students would have been overlooked.

In conclusion, Blumenfeld noted that the two procedures yielded roughly the same proportion of successful participants, although the high test score-only method resulted in slightly more. The nominated group tended to have a broader range of personal characteristics and to come from a greater variety of schools. The nominated group exhibited a less favorable socio-economic and educational background. In terms of the criteria of success, Blumenfeld noted that a more accurate evaluation of the two methods will be available once these students' performance in college is known.

Summary

In general, studies of the prediction of college success, identification and selection of college entrants have only dealt peripherally with the problems of ethnic minority group students who, with considerable probability, would be unable to compete successfully in the regular college program without additional assistance. Investigators of most studies have concerned themselves with the problem in the broader sense. Moreover, more work has been done in the area of prediction than perhaps any other area of educational research on the transition from school to college. However, the implications of such studies gives some direction as to what approaches are feasible for disadvantaged students.

COLLEGIATE PROGRAMS FOR DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS

Gordon and Wilkerson (1966, p.134) defined compensatory programs and practices: "A continuing activity by an institution that helps disadvantaged students who could not otherwise do so to enroll and progress in college...termed a compensatory practice...An organized group of related activities to the same end is...termed a compensatory program...." Modified admissions policies, financial assistance and tutorial service are examples of the latter. "Remediation" implies that an institution is attempting to get a student from where he is to where he wants to be; it conveys the image of providing students with a second chance (Roueche, 1968).

Various types of programs and practices have been used to assist students in their efforts to successfully complete a college education. Summer-preadmissions programs, reduced course load, remedial courses, tutorial assistance, guidance and counseling, extended length of time to meet graduation requirements, and financial assistance are but a few of the elements that have been employed either singly or in combination to meet the needs of disadvantaged students. Gordon (1967) noted that although the practice of offering non-credit remedial courses - mainly in English but also in mathematics - is still widespread, it appears to be losing ground. A substantial number of institutions were found to have ceased this practice for a variety of reasons. A major cause of discontinuation, it was observed, is the paucity of evidence that these courses improve academic performance. In examining the extensive use of various compensatory practices, Gordon and Wilkerson (1966) noted that practices designed to assist disadvantaged students after they have entered college predominated among the institutions reporting in the spring of 1964.

Almost two thirds (62%) of the frequencies were accounted for by counseling, credit and non-credit courses, instructions in study skills, tutoring, special curricula, and extended time for completing degree requirements. A recent survey by Nash (1969) found extra counseling, tutorial assistance, modified admissions standards, and financial aid as the most frequently mentioned practices for 211 senior colleges offering assistance to disadvantaged students.

Remedial or developmental programs (particularly remedial English) were found to be prevalent at the community college level (Roueche, 1968). Berg and Axtell (1968) reported that a series or block of remedial courses appeared to be the most numerous type in their study of California community junior colleges. In general, the major objective of these programs is to increase the competence of disadvantaged students in communications and numerical skills. Other provisions noted by Berg and Axtell were part-time employment, free transportation, free lunches, legal assistance, central student meeting facilities, special recruiting, and special summer orientation. However, the national survey of junior colleges by Schenz (1963) revealed that only 20% of these institutions designed special curricula for disadvantaged students. Community junior colleges apparently are attempting to meet the needs of low-achieving students by providing remedial courses which are typically available to all students (Roueche, 1968).

At the community college level, several surveys were conducted to determine how widespread were the various supportive programs and practices to assist disadvantaged students. The Curriculum Commission of the American Association of Junior Colleges authorized a national investigation of the practices which junior colleges followed regarding the curriculum offerings for students with low ability. In a subsequent study, Schenz (1964) surveyed the views of junior college administrators regarding possible solutions. The conclusions of the study revealed that 91% of the junior colleges followed an "open door" policy for all high school graduates and for all persons eighteen and over who could profit from the instruction. Martyn (1966) confirmed this finding in his investigation of California junior colleges. Examining enrollment data and patterns of student persistence in community colleges, Jaffe and Adams (1969) noted that some serious questions could be raised with regard to the impact of the "junior college movement" on the later vocational opportunities of racial minority youth. For example, they observed that roughly one in three of two-year college entrants transfer to senior college, another third complete vocational programs, and the remainder simply drop out of school. Roueche (1968) cited an unpublished study by Paul Lawrence (1966) which indicated that only 13 or 14 junior college districts were making any substantial effort to attend to the educational needs of disadvantaged college students in the state of California. Berg and Axtell (1968) found that the majority of the institutions in their study (53.4%) attempted to meet the educational needs of the disadvantaged through the regular instructional program while slightly more than a fourth (27.4%) had implemented special instructional programs. More institutions (39.2%) reported they were attempting to meet the needs of disadvantaged students through the regular counseling service than through additional individual counseling (33.8%) or additional group counseling (0.0%).

The pattern of compensatory education in the senior colleges is similar to that found in community junior colleges. Gordon and Wilkerson (1966, p.155) concluded that most college level compensatory programs and practices "seem to fit the somewhat dreary pattern of remedial courses which have plagued many generations of low-achieving students with but little benefit to most of them." Moreover, it was noted that although an increasing number of institutions of higher education are attempting through a variety of approaches to help socially disadvantaged youths, proportionately very few of the nation's colleges and universities have thus far begun to develop compensatory programs and practices; most of those that have are serving very small numbers of disadvantaged students. It appears that few institutions are recruiting disadvantaged students with serious academic deficiencies. Most colleges and universities are addressing themselves to youths that have limited financial resources (Williams, 1969). In their survey of two- and four-year institutions, Gordon and Wilkerson (1966) found that 36.5% of the responding institutions indicated they were conducting a variety of compensatory programs and practices. Three hundred eighty-six institutions (63.3%) reported they were not conducting any compensatory practices. The pattern of reports of "some" involvement was fairly consistent for the nine geographical regions surveyed. When the distribution of institutions was examined by control, it was revealed that only those institutions under city or district control reported a greater proportion of "some" compensatory practices (57%) than those reporting "no" involvement (43%). State, private, and religious institutions were fairly consistent in reporting "some" or "no" involvement in collegiate compensatory practices: each indicated a larger proportion reporting "no" practices (range = 31-37%). A recent national survey tended to confirm the findings in the Gordon and Wilkerson study (Gordon and Thomas, 1969).

A definite relationship appears to exist between the types of dominant curricula offered at the various institutions and the presence of compensatory practices. It was found that roughly 90% of the colleges reporting compensatory practices were liberal arts institutions (Gordon and Wilkerson, 1966).

Of the 156 colleges and universities providing descriptions of their efforts to assist disadvantaged students to the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (1968), Thomas (1969) estimated that 42.5% were "uncommitted" in terms of the extensiveness of institutional provisions available to disadvantaged students. Institutions reporting "some overtures" at addressing themselves to the problems of disadvantaged students were estimated to be only 18.9% of the total number of institutions reporting. This would appear to parallel the conclusion drawn by Egerton (1968) that less than 11.5% of the 162 institutions responding to his survey were initiating programs of substantial impact upon their respective resources and skills. Moreover, he observed that the major debate often centered on whether institutions of higher education should become engaged in activities for the disadvantaged rather than on how to proceed with this challenge.

Effectiveness of Programmatic Efforts

Roueche (1967) noted the ineffectiveness of remedial programs at the community junior college level. He advanced the premise that the ineffectiveness of such programs is due in large measure to uncertainty about what the programs' basic goals should be. In regard to community junior college admissions procedures Roueche (1968, p.3) noted that: "The open-door concept is valid only if students are able to succeed in their educational endeavors. Currently, the only tenable value seems to be that enrollment allows a student to say, years after his short tenure, 'I went to college.' But except for this inestimable benefit, little else is apparent." For example, Bossone (1966) found that from 40-60% of the students enrolled in remedial English classes in California public community junior colleges earned a grade of D or F. Only 20% of the students enrolled in these remedial courses later enrolled in college credit courses. Other studies have also found similar conclusions at the community junior college level (Gold, 1965; Schenz, 1963; Thelen, 1966). Berg and Axtell (1968) noted that most of the programs for disadvantaged students in California community junior colleges are based upon or include various characteristics identified by Coleman et al. (1966) as being ineffective with respect to student achievement. Goldberg, Passow and Justman (1966) concluded that ability grouping was neutral and its value was contingent upon the extent to which specific instructional techniques based upon the needs of the students were used. Meister and Tauber (1965) reported lower than usual attrition rates among those students who were provided special services.

Studies at the senior college and university level have been particularly limited in regard to effectiveness and impact of compensatory programs and practices in ameliorating the academic deficiencies of disadvantaged students. Alexakos and Rothney (1967) observed that students undergoing a high school guidance laboratory experience tended to perform better in college than a matched group who did not receive such an experience. Meister et al. (1962) reported that the program Operation Second Chance has produced a reversal of the trend toward academic failures. Froe (1966) reported on the innovative and flexible three-track program developed at Morgan State College. For upgrading the quality of remedial programs, Theresa Love (1966) described four approaches that were developed to stimulate language development in youths with linguistic handicaps. When attrition rate has been considered as a criterion of success, it has been noted that in most instances, disadvantaged students' holding rate was not measurably different from that of regular students (Williams, 1969). However, very little systematic research has been conducted to determine whether the comparable retention rate for disadvantaged students is a function of innovations in compensatory programs or other factors, i.e., selection of less competitive courses, lighter course loads, atypical persistence patterns.

Summary

Research on the extensiveness and effectiveness of compensatory programs and practices has been limited in quantity and scope. Yet, even with the paucity of evaluative studies, it is safe to note that evidence points to the conclusion that existing compensatory programs and practices have made little impact in eradicating the problems of disadvantaged college students, nor have the majority of colleges accepted this area as their role.

CONCLUSION

Selection of research for this chapter was, of course, arbitrary, though not capricious. In present usage, the "disadvantaged" are arbitrarily defined. They do not, in fact, have many educational problems which are basically different from those which have always been present in the schools. We could simply define the disadvantaged as all those having difficulty in school, but we are mainly concerned here with the pressures exerted on the entire social system by the rising expectations of formerly excluded groups.

We have excluded or skimped some areas which might reasonably have been included, and these need to be mentioned. In the past decade, financial aid to college students has become a complex technical area with a body of specialists and a literature of its own. The predominantly Negro colleges have received more scholarly attention than we have suggested or than some of them have wanted. The emerging dominance of public higher education and the appearance of state master plans will have more effect on disadvantaged students than any present or likely future idea for compensatory programs. The development of computer-assisted guidance and instructional systems may (or may not) be a crucial development of the 1970's. We have said little or nothing of ethnic studies, curricula, community involvement, the movements for black (or brown) self-determination and the other new developments which seem likely to make current discussion of compensatory programs, guidance, and selection seem anachronistic before much time has passed.

Some of these matters are not currently yielding research to be reviewed. At the beginning of this chapter we noted that the current crisis in values and fundamental social arrangements is raising questions not merely about the adequacy of current research but about the possibility that research itself does not enjoy the automatic esteem that was once accorded it. In part this is a matter of distrust by minority groups who have in the past been studied to the advantage of every one but themselves. In part it is a matter of organization. Reports now are often addressed to questions that are no longer interesting. Basic descriptive data are needed. Researchers do not know what is happening to young people in school or after school. In most states and cities it is unknown how many black students, or Mexican-Americans, or Puerto Ricans are graduating from high school and what advice they are getting, from whom, or to what effect.

Much formal research - the kind that can be reviewed - is, too, atomistic. It is doubtful that any isolated educational "practice" has ever been validated or invalidated by formal research. Students, especially poor students, have or lack access to higher education within a metropolitan area or state system of high schools and colleges. These systems, which include private institutions and voluntary agencies, have organic relationships which need to be studied.

Much research is too slow, as are the methods of dissemination of research results. The disadvantaged are extraordinarily vulnerable to legislative or administrative decisions made in any one of numerous places. Since educational research is overwhelmingly applied research, it too is affected by such decisions. Traditional methods of research dissemination, including this Review, increasingly are primarily historical records.

At the same time, the gap between practice and basic research is, as always, painfully wide. We have reported here the growing conviction among serious investigators that the improvement of higher and lower education for the disadvantaged depends upon better definition and measurement of "talents" and better relations between these measurements and instructional programs. But it is difficult to believe that what is "known" now about talent and instruction is known to many of those who directly affect disadvantaged youth, or that our institutions are organizing to take advantage of what has been known for a long time.

Finally, action in the educational system is being taken, as it must be, without any regard for the research schedules of individual research scholars or agencies. Some policy centers are informed by whatever research is within each; some are not. But neither the disadvantaged young people who intend to go from school to college nor the school and college officers involved in the process are prepared to wait upon conventional research procedures. It will increasingly be the case that much of the research that really affects the transitions from school to college will appear in the literature long after its principal applications have been made.

None of this argues that research is useless. To the contrary, the development of effective research facilities for education is just beginning. But it does argue that better methods than researchers now have for keeping one another informed and for reporting what has been done are needed.

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CHAPTER V

FINANCIAL AID FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

It may be unproductive to speak of the area of most critical and urgent need in the process of democratization of higher education. Most of the problems in this area are urgent and crucial. Nonetheless, on campus after campus our investigations lend us to conclude that although recently passed legislative reforms may prove helpful, truly comprehensive progress will not be made until substantial amounts of new money are made available for the support of students in higher education, their families, and the programs which serve them.

NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

The population of minority-poor from which we seek to recruit new members of the collegiate student body consists of families with incomes less than $10,000 annually. Most of the families' total income is under $7,000, and many control less than $4,000 in any given year. When we compare these figures to the mean expenses involved in college attendance, the tremendous drain on the finances of these people is readily apparent. The College Scholarship Service (CSS) has reported that the mean tuition cost (including books, fees, and supplies) for all students in four-year public institutions was $638 for 1969-70. For those in private institutions the mean cost was $1,797. The mean extra costs for students (including transportation, food and housing, medical and dental service, clothing and laundry, and recreation and other personal expenses) at public institutions has been reported at around $1,209, and $1,492 at private institutions.[1] As

John Egerton has indicated, if these young people are to go to college the cost must come from other than family sources.[2]

Not only are these families unable to pay for the cost of college or in many cases to even contribute to the cost, they can ill afford the absence of the financial contribution to the family which the potential college student would make were he not in college. To accurately estimate the cost of going to college for this segment of the population we must add not only the direct costs paid to the institution, but the indirect costs deducted from the family's potential income. In multiple child families this hidden cost is sometimes covered by selecting one or more children to go to work while another or others take advantage of the opportunity to go to college.

This problem is not simply financial. It also has psychological and social undertones. The youngster for whom the family makes the sacrifice often struggles with feelings of guilt because of his failure to help support the family. He is sometimes the object of scorn for doing the "academic thing" while others are "really in the struggle." He is unable to be an active participant in the social life of the community in part because of absolute lack of money and in part because of the seeming inappropriateness of expenditures for recreation and social life when the family is so short of resources.

Individual and family difficulties with regard to financing a college education go hand-in-hand with national, state, and institutional financial problems when considering the overall issue of unequal access to colleges and universities.

The late 1960's witnessed the beginnings of a financial crisis in higher education, pervaded by a concern that the system would either break down or seriously deteriorate if Federal aid was not forthcoming. Universities were, and still are, faced with rising costs attributed to expanding enrollments, rising faculty salaries, and greater building and other costs. In the meantime, income to these institutions has been climbing, but not at the same steady rate as that of increasing expenditures. This cost-income disparity arose after a decade of unprecedented growth in higher education. Such growth might actually have rendered some institutions more vulnerable to a downturn because they were undercapitalized, overextended, encompassing greater responsibilities without permanent financing and in many instances, involved in meeting rising quality of standards.[3] However, regardless of the origins of the crisis, the possibility of continued deterioration of financial status among institutions of higher learning carries with it some serious implications for the various populations seeking or paying for college and post-graduate education.

Throughout the 1970's and the decades to come, universities will not only be required to supply a high quality education to increased numbers of students, but augmented student aid and special services to minority and low economic group members as well in order to meet increased demands for equality of opportunity in higher education. Much activity is now underway to increase income to schools. This has primarily taken the form of rising tuition fees, increased Federal appropriations, and some assistance from the states. There are a multitude of issues and ramifications surrounding the tuition rise and the implementation of the recently passed legislation, covered by the Education Ammendments of 1972. The dynamics of the problem of equal opportunity for higher education emerge as we explore the effects of financial setbacks on institutions, the needs of poverty/minority group students in relation to these institutions, and the distribution of funds for educational purposes.

Looking back several years, as Rivlin has noted, rising costs of education had led middle-income families to request Federal aid in the form of loans, scholarships, grants, Federal backing that would lower tuition costs, and tax exemptions. College expenses as well as living costs had become too burdensome so that low-income persons who had been largely excluded from the university market, particularly if they were black, Indian, or Spanish-speaking, had demanded equal educational opportunity through free public education, an increase in student aid, or a combination of the two.[4]

With all eyes turned toward the Federal government, the lack of a coherent Federal policy directed toward higher education became apparent. In 1968, in an effort to meet the crisis, the then President Johnson commissioned a study which evolved into a report entitled, Toward a Long-Range Plan for Federal Financial Support for Higher Education. A Report to the President. This report focused upon two key objectives: increasing equality of opportunity for higher education and improving the quality of higher education. The report noted that much of the existing aid to students was directed toward those who could already afford to attend college.[5] Among its recommendations were a major increase in Federal aid to individual students rather than subsidies to institutions and a priority goal of effecting equalization of opportunity through grants to needy students, Federal loan banks for students of all income levels, and cost-of-education allowances.[6] A report of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education was issued at about the same time and advocated similar procedures.[7]

Prior to the 1950's, most grant assistance was awarded on the basis of academic achievement. As most students of high ability already had adequate funds, the concept of need began to be introduced. It is no longer a secret that opportunity for higher education is closely related to income. The data of the Project TALENT survey sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education in the 1960's provides an abundance of evidence in support of the idea that for high school students of similar high ability, the high-income youngsters are more likely to attend college than those of low income. A virtual "talent loss" results.[8]

The impact of need is very much manifested in patterns of unequal entry into higher education according to economic breakdowns. It has been variously estimated that in 1967, 80% of high school seniors with family incomes from $0 to $3000 did not attend college. Out of those with family incomes from three to six thousand dollars, 65% did not attend college. Among high school seniors whose family incomes ranged from six to ten thousand dollars, approximately 54% did not go on to college. Forty percent of high school seniors whose parents earned ten thousand to fifteen thousand dollars did not continue their educations.

Finally, only 15% of high school seniors with family incomes of $15,000 or more did not enter college. There is, evidently, a significant correlation between college entry and family income.

Some data categorized along ethnic group lines also reveals unequal access to higher education. In 1968, there were 287,000 black students in college, according to the U.S, Office of Civil Rights.[9] This is a relatively minute number when we consider that there were 2,400 institutions of higher learning in existence that year with a total of about 7.5 million students in attendance.[10] In that year, 31.1% of all black high school graduates entered college on a full-time basis, Blacks made up only 5.7% of all freshmen.[11] Furthermore, in 1969, surveys revealed that 1,326,000 high school graduates did not go to college within one year. Of these, 190,000 were black and other races.[12] Because racial and economic status are closely linked, it is not surprising to see that in 1968, 55.5% of the entering freshmen who were black had family incomes of less than $6,000 while only 14.2% of their non-black counterparts belonged to this income level.[13] Clearly, the financial demands of college and university attendance weigh more heavily on blacks than non-blacks whose low-income members have a proportionately higher representation in higher education, and, by implication, such education is beyond the means of a large segment of the country's population.

Lack of financial resources appears to be the primary deterrant to equal educational opportunity. The gap between high school completion and college attendance rates does not seem to be explained by distribution of ability. Cost is the limiting factor. It is relatively and absolutely more expensive to attend college than to remain in high school because it is at the point of college attendance that a youngster has a sharply increased opportunity for earnings and must make a decision as to how much of an investment to make in higher education.[14] The reasons why a student chooses not to attend college are, however, complex, varied, and often conflicting. Socioeconomic status, lack of money, and poor high school records all function to influence the decision. Many high school graduates state that they prefer to work. Others report insufficient funds.[15] In general, individual values play a strong part in the decision to pursue further education, but finance seems to be the overriding determinant. In a recent survey conducted by Dorothy Knoell with more than 400 black high school graduates in each of five cities, over 37% stated that they did not plan to continue a formal education primarily because of a lack of money.[16]

The problem of unequal access to higher education is exacerbated by the fact that the prestigious institutions with the highest academic standards are the schools with the largest endowment and scholarship funds. Students who are poor are least likely to meet the highest requirements; they are, therefore, shut off from the more selective schools and are forced to attend institutions which can offer very little financial assistance. Hence, the cycle of unequal opportunity is perpetuated and compounded.

In addition to the problem of access to the most selective institutions by low-income students, there is the problem of the sizeable group of students with average and below average measured aptitude who require substantial funds if they are to continue on to college. Eleven percent of all high school graduates from families earning less than $7,500 score between 200 and 300 on the verbal SAT and are simply not likely to go on to college.[17] 53,100 black secondary school students who meet the above criteria for income and SAT scores will not enroll in college within a year after graduation. This represents more than half of the black graduates who do not continue their educations.[18] Obviously, there is a need not only for student financial aid to facilitate choice of college and access to colleges, but quality programs to retain students in the high schools as well, thereby insuring a more sizeable college bound population.

The institutions themselves have been suffering under financial duress as well. In its examination of "the New Depression in higher education" conducted at the close of the 1960's, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education and the Ford Foundation study of 41 institutions states that:

> The schools headed for financial trouble are engaging in a variety of program cuts and changes in plans, which can be summarized as postponing planned program growth. Almost every school headed for financial trouble has postponed and is postponing academic plans.[19]

The objective was to cut costs below current levels as well as to cut the growth rate of costs. These responses generally follow the sequence of maintenance cuts first, then cuts in expenditures for supplies, equipment, and travel. Experimental programs and extracurricular activities and events are no longer financially supported.

The above mentioned study reported:

> The pressure of the cost-income squeeze is strong enough that schools have begun to reduce funds made available for student aid and special admissions. There are reductions in campus communications, budgets, cultural activities, and certain kinds of student services.[20]

Consequently, the serious rise in tuition costs accompanied severe cutbacks in programs and services which were particularly beneficial to poverty and minority students.

While the studies of the sixties revealed significant problems for and exclusion of lower-income students from the college scene, the statistics concerning financial aspects of university attendance for the school year 1969-70 show monetary difficulties for those who made it to their educational destination. In that year there were 5,110,000 full-time enrolled undergraduates. Out of these, 800,000 to 1,000,000 could expect no financial assistance from their families.[21] Furthermore, in 1969, tuition and fees increased by 16.5% at state and land-grant universities, not to mention private school increases which rendered these schools even more inaccessible.[22] In essence, it is not only lower-income and minority students who are suffering under the cost-income squeeze, but the families and students of other income levels and the institutions of higher learning as well. However, the practice of raising tuition levels results in greater inequality of educational opportunity for those students who are financially disadvantaged. After all, the high-ability student from a high or middle-income family can go to a college with slightly lower costs, whereas a high-ability student from a low-income family, confronted with rising private and public university tuitions, will have little choice except to turn to the public community college.

SOURCES OF FINANCIAL AID

Federal Aid

The combination of student-parent and state funds have provided most of the costs for a student's education, with Federal contributions coming in third. However, when one considers that in the case of public institutions, financial aid over and beyond low-cost tuition subsidized by the taxpayers is more often drawn from state or Federal funding, and that to date few states have comprehensive grant or loan programs, Federal supplemental assistance assumes a critical role in determining equality of educational opportunity.

Financial aid generally takes the form of public scholarships, grants to students, favorable loans to students (guaranteed loans, subsidized loans), contingent repayment plans (or "Educational Opportunity Banks"), income tax relief, work-study, grants and favorable loans for buildings and equipment, and more general grants to institutions, including the operation of low-tuition schools by the government. State and local governments provide aid usually in one form -- general-purpose grants to institutions.[23]

The Office of Education presently administers four major programs for aiding students: Educational Opportunity Grants, the College Work-Study program, National Defense Student Loans, and Guaranteed Loans. Approximately 1.25 million students or 1/4 of the nation's undergraduates have been receiving these forms of financial assistance.[24]

Educational Opportunity Grants (EOG):[25]

Established under the Higher Education Act of 1965, these grants have been the only Federal grants specifically geared to the low-income recipient. The amounts awarded are determined by the extent to which the family can contribute to college fees and by the actual cost of attendance per student. The awards are distributed by the institutions out of funds given them by the government. For fiscal year 1968, $133 million was appropriated. In the following year, $145 million was the planned level of funding. Recent estimates report that these funds reached 290,000 students at 1,800 institutions. The maximum grant was $1,000, but the average grant was actually much less.[26]

College Work-Study Program (CWS):

This program, established under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, was originally targeted for needy students from low-income families to supply them with part-time work while in college. This requirement has since been changed, however, to giving preference to students from poorer families while also extending to students who need earnings to continue at college. The selection and supervision of the working students are handled by the colleges which receive funds from the government for the wages. A matching requirement of 20% on the part of the institution has been in effect. Students are not required to work on campus, but may work for a non-profit or government organization. Around 400,000 students were earning an average of $450 per year in fiscal year 1968.[27]

Federal Loans:

There are two types of Federal loans to students, one being the National Defense Student Loan Program (NDSL). This program was established under the National Defense Education Act of 1958. These loans are meant primarily for needy students, and surveys bear out the fact that they have been primarily utilized by students from low-income families. Half the recipients in 1967 came from families with incomes under $6,000. In 1969, the program was to reach 400,000 students at an average of $600 each. Survey data indicate that typical loans range from $650 to $900. The American Council on Education recently stated that the NDEA loan program continues to be the strongest element of institutional aid for meeting the financial requirements of students.[28]

The second type of Federal loan is the Guaranteed Student Loan. This program was established under the Higher Education Act of 1965. These are basically Federally insured loans that limit the maximum interest rate to 6% and pay interest for a time on the loan. In 1969, an estimated 700,000 students borrowed $600 million. In 1969-70, 50% of these loans were taken by families with less than $9,000 income. With these loans it was possible to receive a subsidy if income fell below $15,000.[29]

The amount of money available for undergraduates would be small were it not for the national service benefits of the veteran's allowances under the G.I. Bill and Social Security. Social Security is paid to dependents after they reach 18 only if they go to college. The two programs combined paid $800 million in fiscal year 1968.[30] They have been strongly supportive and reliable programs for a number of years. Financial need, date of application, and academic ability are not considerations in granting these benefits.

In addition to the above sources of Federal aid are a number of Federal scholarship programs. Some of the larger ones cover graduate education, especially in the sciences, health professions, and in the upgrading of experienced teachers. Ability is often the criterion, however, for these programs. The National Science Foundation, the Public Health Service, the National Defense Education Act, the National Institutes of Health, and the Teachers fellowships are some of the major graduate education supports.

The above sources of Federal aid are sent to the institutions, most often using state allocation formulas (unless there is a matching requirement for the institution). They are disbursed to the student in a financial aid package that may consist of any one or a combination of grant, loan, or work-study along with support from other sources such as university, state, or foundation funds.

The amount of Federal funds a student receives and the way in which they are packaged (the balance and mixture of grants, loans, etc.) affect college access, choice of institution, and quality of educational performance.

Certainly, Federal aid has not been adequately channeled to meet the needs of those students who require the most financial help. Of all the Federal programs, only the Educational Opportunity Grants are primarily aimed at needy students. Most Federal aid to date has been directed toward the high ability, upper-middle class youth, especially programs such as NSF, NDEA, and guaranteed loans. The well ingrained pattern seems to be to portion out at the institutional level gift aid to the high academic achievers.

The Work-Study Program has also been criticized for its failure to fully help the needy student. The program requires students to divide their efforts between their studies and their work, the latter often being unrelated to their educational interests. Moreover, CWS indirectly subsidizes all students rather than concentrating on the needy because colleges are better able to keep costs down by not hiring outside personnel.[31] Meanwhile, students who are poorer are busy working and borrowing 2.86 times as much as middle and upper class students.[32] Basically, the students in greatest need are not being accurately targeted.

A little over $5.3 billion of government money has been directed toward institutions or programs which specifically enroll or affect low-income students. According to Mundel, however, these funds have been distributed in such a way as to bypass the neediest and support, instead, higher-income students. In fact, a regressive effect has been in operation -- the higher the family income, the greater the subsidy. In 1966-67, for example, the range of aid per student was $165 to $261. A correlation of family income with dollars per student reveals that the $4,000 per year income students received the lowest amount ($165) while those with $30,000 or more incomes received the highest ($261). In between these figures are a steady rise in income correlated with a steady rise in subsidies from Federal institution-oriented programs.[33] Furthermore, in comparing the amount of funds appropriated to the various types of institutions by the government and also the amounts allotted to the students from the various types of institutions, it is apparent that there are significant differences in aid between university subsidies, four-year college subsidies, and two-year college subsidies. Evidently, the government appropropriates the largest amounts to universities, second largest to four-year colleges, and smallest amounts to junior colleges where there is the largest concentration of poor students. These institutions dole out funds to students in a similar pattern, with university students receiving the highest per capita appropriations and junior college students, who are from the lower-income families, receiving the lowest per capita. For example, figures for the disbursement of student aid funds by academic institutions in 1966-67 report that the $4,000 income student received $344 and $372 from private and public universities respectively, while the student of the same income level at the private and public junior colleges received $167 and $131 respectively.[34]

In essence, aggregate Federal subsidies are distributed approximately evenly among students from all income groups. This "equitable distribution pattern" is a major reason for the failure of higher education programs to remove the inequity from the educational system. A policy or set of policies which distributes funds evenly among individuals of all income levels cannot be expected to actually change in any significant way the behaviors of and opportunities for any subset within the income groups.[35]

There are several problems that seem to be built into the current Federal programs for financial aid. It is not only the students who have been suffering under financial policies to date. Institutions also do not have adequate funds to meet the needs of their students. Because of allocation formulas, matching requirements, and insufficient funds, there are tight limits on what aid institutions can supply to individuals. Colleges with a large number of disadvantaged students have been in a particularly difficult position because of the matching requirements placed upon them by the government.

A second problem is that loan funds are limited. The National Defense Student Loan program has not been receiving sufficient capital outlays from the Federal budget. In addition, low-income students must compete with lower risk students for lendable funds from banks under the Guaranteed Loan program. Frequently, the disadvantaged students have poor bank connections. Furthermore, increasing numbers of middle and upper-income families are taking advantage of the available loan programs, thereby diverting student aid away from the most needy.[36]

A third disadvantage of recent policies has been the inequitable distribution of Federal funds. More funds often go to the students in the more expensive institutions than to the students with the same income in the cheaper institutions.[37] Moreover, need is assessed differently among the different colleges. A further complication has arisen because of the tendency on the part of institutions to to give funds to the partial-need student rather than the full-need student in an effort to distribute the funds to greater numbers. However, the new EOG guidelines, to be discussed further on, attempt to deal with this problem.

In summary, Federal aid to institutions has been ineffectual as far as providing adequate support to students in need. By spreading funds thinly over all students rather than focusing on the needy, the low-income students have been largely short-changed. Furthermore, insufficient funding tends to maintain the poor in the less expensive community colleges, if they reach a college at all. Many of the inequities for individuals result from the disbursement of funds to institutions as opposed to direct entitlements to the student, as provided, for example, by the G.I. Bill.

The Federal government has also directed its efforts toward strengthening developing institutions devoted to minority group students. The decision to help support these schools is based upon the large contribution these colleges make to the education of blacks while struggling with limited funds, resources, and endowments. In the Higher Education Act of 1965, $55 million were authorized for fiscal year 1966 (but only $5 million appropriated) for the purpose of strengthening these small institutions which had a wealth of problems entailing lack of financial support, a high drop-out rate, sparse course offerings, outdated equipment, and relatively low faculty salaries. The money was intended for the development of cooperative ties between institutions for the addition and sharing of resources as well as for teaching fellowships to supplement existing staff. Seventy-eight percent of the funds went to the four-year schools, and 22% went to the two-year institutions.[38] The Education Amendments, to be discussed later on, do enhance Federal aid to developing institutions.

State Financial Aid

State aid is channeled directly to either the students or to public or private institutions. Generally, state awards are not geared as closely to family income as are Federal awards, and they are mostly limited to residents. Comprehensive state programs tend to have financial need as a selection criterion for awards, but few categorical awards consider income. Originally, programs were meant for the most able only. Now, ten states have added non-competitive support for tuition and fees. Most of the others provide funds for subsistence only if students attend low-tuition public institutions.

In 1970-71, there were 20 state programs which distributed 579,000 awards at a cost of $229 million. This was 20% more than the previous year. New York and Pennsylvania accounted for 51% of the total. Many of the programs have begun in the last five or six years. The average award among these states was $400.[39] The extent of state aid is relatively small if we consider that the number of students aided (579,000) was less than 10% of all undergraduates which totalled around 6,274,000 in 1970-71.[40] Moreover, the 10% figure appears particularly low if we take into account the fact that New York and Pennsylvania contributed about one-half of state support, and that if the pattern in New York is typical, first priority is given to students demonstrating ability rather than to those demonstrating need.

There are multiple approaches used for granting loans scholarships to students by the various states: 1) some states offer only guaranteed student loans; 2) some hold both financial need and ability as criteria for grants or scholarships (competitive); 3) some grant scholarships entirely on criteria of need; 4) some states have programs that have both #2 and #3 (and in some cases #1) as possibilities; 5) some states have purely competitive awards; 6) some compensate the student if tuition is greater than a set amount; 7) some hold programs specifically for ethnic groups; 8) some offer educational manpower grants if the student takes courses leading to employment in a critical occupation in the state; 9) some provide tuition reimbursement for particular professions; 10) the amount of the grants may vary according to whether the student goes to a public or a private school.

A brief overview of some of the state student assistance programs will illustrate the diversity of trends in criteria, whether it be based on public or private attendance or need vs. ability, and amounts of money appropriated for student aid.[41]

In California, there was an increase in College Opportunity Grants from only 200 to 2,000 new recipients. For the State scholarship program, $21,861,000 was recommended by the State government in addition to small amounts for the administration of the guaranteed loan program.[42]

Substantial increases in aid from one year to the next stand out in Ohio. The Ohio Institutional Grants Program provided in 1970-71 -- $4,785,103 and in 1971-72 -- $15, 160,000. Maximum grants were increased from $900 a year to $1,200 at private schools and $300 to $510 at public schools.[43]

It is important to note that although some states have increased subsidies, student charges have also risen.

Iowa provides funds for public as well as private school attendance based on ability as well as need. A maximum of $1,000 per year is awarded for low and middle-income tuition grants. $100-800 is awarded individual students depending on the amount of tuition. In fiscal year 1971-72, $290,000 was allotted for tuition and fees alone. Maryland also gears its programs toward both public and private school financing. General state scholarships in the range of $100 to $1,500 are awarded based on financial need and SAT results.[44]

Some of the better programs are to be found in Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, and New York. In Massachusetts, general state scholarships are based entirely on need. Recently, 3,000 awards were available for four years. A total of $8 million was allotted, $700 for private school attendance and $200 for public schools. In Michigan, a competitive scholarship program based upon need as well as test scores and class rank is in effect. A total of $8.2 million for 1971-72 was awarded, with applicants receiving up to $800 per year for four years. Twenty percent of the scholarships went to private colleges. The state also offers a Tuition Grant Program based only on need for private school students. $5.2 million was awarded in 1970-71. Also provided is a Guaranteed Student Loan Program which supplies up to $1,000 per year per student.[45]

Minnesota also offers a relatively good program of state aid. Contracts with private institutions stipulate $500 for each state resident in excess of 1970 enrollment and $500 for each low-income student. A total of $2.7 million has been allotted for 1971-73. A state scholarship program based on need but limited to those who rank academically in the upper 25% is in effect and is usable in public, private, and public area vocational-technical schools. The amounts allotted were: 1971-72 — $1,590,000; 1972-73 — $2,500,000. Awards ranged from $100 to $1000, half of demonstrable need. A third program is the Grant in Education Program based on need: 1971-72 -- $1,040,000; 1972-73 -- $2,500,000. Awards fell within a range similar to the state scholarship program.[46]

New Jersey offers a variety of programs: competitive scholarship awards for up to $500 a year; incentive grants for tuition payments exceeding $500, with individuals receiving up to $500 per year; tuition grants based on need where tuition costs exceed $500; grants for transfers from two-year colleges ranging from $500-$1,000; direct institutional aid under the Educational Opportunity Grant Program for $2,880,000; and an Educational Opportunity Grant Program for disadvantaged students at private or public schools totaling $9,748,000, with each receiving up to $1,000.[47]

In New York, Educational Opportunity funds total $44.8 million including $6.2 million for private institutions. The competitive Regents Scholarships have provided anywhere from $200 to $1,000 depending on need and are good for both private and public school attendance. A total of $29.7 million has been allotted for these scholarships. Competitive scholarships are also available for medical, dental, and osteopathic studies. The Scholar Incentive Program is non-competitive, based entirely on need. $44.1 million have been distributed, with individual awards reaching a maximum of $600. Also in effect are teacher training grants and guaranteed loans. With a loan, the student obtains up to $20,000. In 1970-71, New York provided 117,000 guaranteed loans totaling $106 million.[48]

Two states have programs worth noting, aimed specifically at educationally and financially disadvantaged students. Connecticut has a transitional grant program for disadvantaged students which supplies grants to both public and private institutions for such services as guidance and tutoring. $190,000 was awarded for this in 1971-72. Grants to students do not exceed $1,000 annually, and institutions are not given more than $500 per student. These grants do, however, consider the potential capability of the disadvantaged student.[49]

In Wisconsin, among several scholarship and grant programs are grants for American Indians and talent incentive grants for the disadvantaged. Native Americans are awarded a maximum of $1,500 per student, based on need, to attend either public or private institutions. In 1971-73, $207,300 are to be distributed. The talent incentive grants have been identified under the state's talent search program. Up to $1,000 per student is available for 500 students.[50]

When it comes to student choice of institutions, this is somewhat limited by the residency requirements and privileges imposed by the states. On the average, nonresident tuition has gone up by 13.9% to $1,260 in 1971. In-state tuition rate has increased comparitively less, by 6.5% to an average of $482.[51] Furthermore, states vary in their residency qualifications which can further complicate opportunities for out-of-state students. Ohio has gone so far as to pass a law which refuses subsidies for Ohio nonresidents. They must be charged the full cost of instruction. The states also seem to be focusing on community colleges and building less dormitories to house students not from the immediate vicinity.[52]

Although there appears to be a steady rise in appropriations by most states for public institutions, the funds are not nearly adequate when increased enrollments, inflation, and tuition increases are taken into account. The Education Commission of the States' (ECS) financial aid to higher education tables of May, 1971 reveal that requests for appropriations have increased in most states, but funds to meet them have been limited. The assumption that until this year funds for public higher education have been readily available on an increasing amount per student base across the nation are not borne out by the figures. While no state reduced gross appropriations to public higher education in 1970-71 or in 1969-70, six states did not increase appropriations. However, when appropriations per capita (student) are compared, 17 states actually reduced the appropriation per student in 1970-71 and in 1969-70; and in an additional nine states, the percentage increase per student was 5% or less, an amount offset by inflation. Other factors such as increased tuition may enter into the picture to offset restricted state funds.[53]

The trends in public institutional appropriations from the state governments appear to be generally detrimental to the goal of enhancing access to higher education. Typical of the trend is the legislative action of New Hampshire in 1971. The biennial budget of $199 million recommended by the governor was cut back to $161 million. State appropriations for operating the state university system budget were reduced by $2,270,904 to $18,530,016, and capital fund authorizations for all postsecondary institutions were cut almost in half. However, the operating budget of seven vocational-technical colleges was increased by $1,848,871 to $5,177,066. The legislature forced the cutbacks by its refusal to vote in any new substantial taxes. One immediate result of such actions is a rise in tuition rates at university and state colleges.[54]

Essentially, the trend among the states is not to meet the multiple demands on limited funds for public higher education. Perhaps this reflects doubts on the part of the populace as to the value of a college education. Nonetheless, the pattern seems to be tuition increases with state governments' hesitating to raise property taxes, a focus on career education, and more support for community colleges.[55]

Low cost tuition can be viewed as a subsidy to all students; however, in an analysis of a recent study of public higher education in California by Hansen and Weisbrod, the suggestion is that the greatest beneficiaries from public education in that state are the upper and middle-income groups. They are the biggest users of higher education, and, therefore, recoup more of their taxes.[56] Even lower tuitions are not enough to equalize educational opportunity. Moreover, the poor college student is unable to contribute to the support of his family while he is studying and paying off the lower tuition costs.

State aid to private institutions generally takes the form of contracts, direct institutional aid, disadvantaged/minority programs, facilities assistance, medical/dental/nursing assistance, and direct student assistance. The general picture of such aid is a negative one. Aid to private colleges and universities, whether they be Catholic, Methodist, or Baptist, dropped $20 million last year. The National Association of Independent Schools reports that 53% of its member schools finished 1969-70 in the red. Another 12% broke even.[57] The chief source of revenue for most private schools is tuition, but parents are becoming increasingly intolerant of these rising rates. Students also are choosing less expensive schools in order to utilize the tuition differences for their own purposes, such as the purchasing of a car, etc.

It is a controversial issue today as to what the extent and nature of state support to private institutions should be. Some institutions or states make contracts with private universities to accept certain numbers of their students or residents. Some states have even awarded incentive supplements to institutions enrolling disadvantaged students or grants to public and private schools for guidance and totoring services. The previously mentioned Minnesota programs follow these formats. These practices appear to be the forerunners of the cost-of-education supplements appropriated in the new legislation to be discussed further on.

In summary, state aid and resulting trends are characterized by stable or decreased per capita state appropriations to the public schools, rising tuition costs, effects on institutional choice for students as charges rise along with subsidies, and a diminished mobility for students resulting from higher out-of-state tuition charges.

University Aid to Students and Programs

Having examined the inadequacies and problems associated with State and Federal aid programs, let us turn to problems entailed in the distribution of university funds to students and their compensatory programs.

It appears that both public and private institutions do not provide sufficient financial accommodation for needy students, although private schools are less culpable. Public schools not only offer very little in the way of student aid, but they do not tend to enroll their share of the poor.[58] Private prestige institutions, which have the highest endowments, also hinder enrollment of the poor by maintaining such high academic standards in their admissions policies. Basically, it is the relatively prosperous students with high test scores who are recruited with increasing intensity.

Too small a portion of fund expenditures are devoted to student aid with public institutions trailing behind private schools. In 1965-66, student aid grants were 9.4% of current fund expenditures in private institutions and 3.4% of current public institutional expenditures.[59] As for enrolling their share of the poor, public institutions again fall short: In 1969, only 1.9% of 80 predominately white institutions were black students.[60] These statistics have improved in recent years but not sufficiently to have eliminated these problems.

The amount of available university resources for poor students helps to determine their recruitment policies. Some schools will not accept students if they cannot support them adequately. Some schools, however, will actively seek those students to which the aid allotment is specifically intended, i.e. those of low ability or low financial status, etc. Given a choice between taking two partial need students or one full need student, institutions encounter difficulties. The decision depends upon the definitions of need. Such variations in university financial aid policies are accounted for by a number of factors which come into play. Some institutions do not compete for Federal funds tied to low-income students because they know that the cost involved may extend beyond the funds the university receives. Furthermore, given the timing of Federal appropriations and legislative action, universities experience some uncertainty concerning how much money they have to work with for the purposes of planning. Another complicating factor is the possibility of eventually diminishing support from alumni. Potential money for the future may be lost if low-income, full need students are taken over partial need students; fewer graduates may mean fewer alumni gifts and endowments.

The large rate of growth of student aid over the past ten years is ample cause for concern to administrators who worry about their schools' ability to meet these needs. The recent Carnegie Commission study of 41 institutions reveals the following figures for 1968-69: public research universities provided an average of $170 per enrolled student requiring financial aid; the private universities studied supplied $428 per enrolled student; a subgroup of private research universities provided $632 per student; the two-year colleges offered $15 per student; and the comprehensive colleges supplied an average of $52 per student. From among these schools, the research universities studied showed an annual increase in student aid of 16.3% from 1959-60 to 1969-70. Because of such rising costs in student aid, administrators look to increased state scholarships and tuition-equalization programs for relief.[61]

Costs are expected to rise, along with academic standards, as more and more students continue to attend public schools. Continued expansion of access to education depends heavily upon the participation of the Federal government through its student aid funds.

Compensatory programs in colleges and universities have also suffered from inadequate support from institutional funds. Schools have often found that the programs cost more than was originally anticipated. Small institutions especially have experienced financial difficulties as a result of a decrease or at least a freeze in the level of available money. Faculties who were already struggling over resources were faced with the further demands of compensatory programs which called for more personnel, counselors, and courses at different ability levels. Failures also came about because too many programs emerged from crisis situations. They were often political responses to minority demands or artificial means for fulfilling the stipulations of special grants.

It has become clear that in order to recruit for and retain compensatory programs, the costs cannot be modest. General cutbacks within schools, arising from financial difficulty, may be influenceing the nature of the programs which may be academic, cultural, recreational, or extra-curricular. Such programs are vitally needed to offset student alienation. Because schools are pressed for funds, too great an emphasis has been placed upon the policy of channeling students into community colleges which in turn direct them toward employment. Evidently, the much needed compensatory programs require more wholehearted organizational and financial support on the part of the universities and colleges as well as from additional outside financial resources.

State and university support from foundations and other such sources is still available to individuals, although support for programs has virtually dried up. The National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS) is one program which assists black students in college placement and provides grants for the needy of amounts ranging from $200 to $600. A promising trend in financial aid can be seen in the program of the Ford Foundation for junior college students in transition to senior colleges. Partial or full support is given directly to the student and is suited to whichever institution the student may choose. This allows, in essence, the student to act as a selector of schools with no limitations placed upon him as to the type of school he may attend.

NEW LEGISLATION: ITS STRENGTHS AND INADEQUACIES

With the passing of the Education Amendments of 1972 on June 23, 1972, an expansion of the existing Federal higher education programs through fiscal year 1975 was instituted. A noteworthy benefit of the new legislation is the support given to needy students which affords them the same opportunities as those with greater financial means. It is now possible for the needy student to choose the type of institution he wishes to attend -- a significant breakthrough in the struggle for equal educational opportunity. Although the legislation brings with it some improvements for the benefit of needy students, it is still inadequate to meet the magnitude of existing financial hardship, and subtle problems for the recipients have yet to be eradicated.

The goals of the new legislation have been stated as follows:

1) better concentration on neediest students;
2) assure funds for every qualified student;
3) provide advance knowledge of aid; and
4) equity of aid received by similar students.

These goals have only been partially met, largely because need has grown tremendously in proportion to funds available. Even with supplemental appropriations, there has been a serious underfunding for Federal student aid for 1972-73: student aid needs outstrip the available resources; 200 additional colleges in 1972-73 are participating in the Federal programs; gross institutional requests jumped from $1.18 billion last year to $1.4 billion; few institutions receive the amount of funds they need; and finally, the $78 million available for EOG initial year awards is sufficient for only 36% of panel approved requests.[62]

The three major educational reform bills affecting higher education are the Higher Education Act of 1965, The Higher Education Amendments of 1968 (Public

Law 90-575), which amends many of the previous stipulations made in the Higher Education Act of 1965, and the Education Amendments of 1972. A brief review of the pertinent parts of these Bills will provide a perspective on the relative advances that have been made over the years in the effort to foster equal educational opportunity.

The Higher Education Act of 1965 initiated some of the first significant steps on the road to educational reform.[63] Title III was devoted to strengthening developing institutions. In 1966, $55 million was authorized, with $5 million actually appropriated. The two Bills to follow added to these funds. Under Title IV, devoted to student assistance, the Educational Opportunity Grants were established for students with exceptional financial need who could not otherwise attend an institution. Seventy million was authorized in fiscal year 1966-67, $100 million for 1970, and $140 million for 1971. Equal matching requirements from the institutions were established. The colleges themselves administered the grants and sought academically talented students. Also under Title IV was the creation of the loan program which was federally subsidized for up to $1,500/year per student to be repaid five to ten years after graduation. $17.5 million was authorized to the states or private agencies for insurance on loans bearing no more than 6% interest annually. Banks, credit unions, pension plans, finance companies, or the colleges themselves could issue $700 million in loans in fiscal year 1966, $1 billion in 1967, and $1.4 billion in 1968. If the family income was under $15,000 the government would pay all the interest while the student was in school and 3% of the interest after graduation while being repaid.

Title IV also included the Work Study program which was transferred to the Office of Education. All needy students were included, although preference was given to those from families with $3,000 or less income. $129 million additional was added from 1964. $225 million was appropriated for fiscal year 1969, $255 million for 1970, and $285 million for 1971. Ten percent was required from the institution. The amount of $500/year maximum per student was changed in 1968.

The Higher Education Amendments of 1968 added to the amount of money allocated to students under the Educational Opportunity Grants ~~as well as~~ and increas~~ing~~ed salaries permitted the students of the Work-Study program.[64] The law also consolidated and revised the Talent Search and Upward Bound Programs and the Special Services to Disadvantaged Students program. Talent Search aimed at identifying financial and cultural need, encouraging students with exceptional potential for post-secondary education to finish high school, encouraging post-secondary or college drop-outs to re-enter school, and publicizing existing forms of student aid. Upward Bound, which was transferred to the Office of Education under this law, was directed toward generating skills and motivation in low-income students with inadequate education. The third program, Special Services for Disadvantaged Students, provided remedial and other special services to those with academic potential. Counseling, tutorial, and special summer programs were initiated to remedy academic deficiencies. Other services include career guidance, and the identification and/or counseling of students for promotion to graduate school. Authorizations for these three programs were as follows:

$10 million for the year ending 1969, $500,000 of this going to Upward Bound; $56,680,000 for the year ending 1970; and $96,000,000 for 1971.

The Law also effected some changes in the Insured Student Loan Program. Money was given to the reserve funds of the states and to nonprofit private loan insurance programs. $12,500,000 was authorized for these sources. In addition, a merger was created between the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965 and the Student Loan Insurance Program of the Higher Education Act of 1965. Thus, more avenues were opened to students, with vocational schools qualifying for aid. Direct loans were provided by the Commissioner of Education if the student could not obtain the loan locally, and $1 million ~~was~~ were authorized for these.

The Work-Study Program also received a boost under the 1968 Amendments. Vocational and private schools became eligible, and federal matching funds could exceed the former 80% maximum. The planning, establishment, and expansion of Cooperative Education was also set down under the law. This was a plan whereby the student could alternate periods of full-time academic study with periods of full-time or private employment with the stipulation that the work experience be related to the educational objective. Training and research grants were also awarded to institutions. Financial authorizations under the Cooperative Education program were as follows: $340,000 for fiscal year 1969, $8 million for fiscal year 1970, and $10 million for 1971. Not more than $75,000 was to go to any one institution.

An amendment to the National Defense Student Loan Program (Title II of the National Defense Education Act of 1958) was established under the Higher Education Amendments. Payments to the institutions for administrative costs in running the program were provided. A positive change was the elimination of the requirement that special consideration be given those with superior academic backgrounds. Authorizations for the NDSL increased from 1969-71 from $210 million, to $275 million, to $300 million.

The 1968 Amendments included further improvements such as the establishment in the Office of Education of the Advisory Council on Financial Aid to Students, the chairman acting as Commissioner of Education. Amendments to the Developing Institutions Program increased and extended funds from 1969-71 from $35 million, to $70 million, to $91 million respectively. A number of other reforms were instituted under the Law which covered the sharing of resources among institutions, the improvement of graduate programs, and other policies of benefit to the financially needy.

The most recent legislation, the Education Amendments of 1972, were two years in the making. The 1970 Administrative proposals sought to channel all Federal aid to the very lowest income groups. Congress initially rejected them because middle-income students were excluded, there was too little emphasis on grants with too heavy an emphasis on private loan markets, and because students were not allowed a choice in the type of institution they could attend. The House Bill leaned heavily toward financial aid to middle-income families through the EOG, Work-Study, and Guaranteed Loans to all regardless of income. The Senate Bill, on the other hand, was geared to all families that needed help, regardless of social group or income level. It sought to guarantee a post-secondary education to each child having the ability and desire. As the Bill was negotiated, the thrust was toward the House proposals, especially through the Basic Grant Program. There was less focus on low income as a criterion for financial aid eligibility and greater accessibility for moderate-income students attending relatively high-cost institutions. Even families with incomes over $20,000 are now elligible if they can show need. The cost of attendance as well as family income is considered in order to determine need under the EOG and Work-Study provisions.[65]

Those aspects of the Education Amendments[66] pertaining to financial aid for students or institutions and which are particularly relevant to a discussion of equal opportunities for disadvantaged peoples can be highlighted as follows. Part A of Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965 - Higher Education - is entitled "Community Service and Continuing Education Programs." Funds were added for the purpose of financing programs and projects devoted to solving national and regional problems relating to technological and social changes and environmental polution. The amounts authorized for fiscal years 1972-75 respectively were $10 million, $30 million, $40 million, and $50 million.

Part C, or the revision of Title III, is devoted to strengthening developing institutions. Changes in the legislation make it possible to support brand new institutions on or near Indian reservations. The government increased its financial aid to institutions further, giving preferential treatment to developing institutions, by waiving the non-Federal share of finances for Title II (library programs), Title IV (student assistance), Title VI (improving undergraduate instruction), and Title VII (facilities) of the Higher Education Act of 1965. In addition, an Advisory Council on Developing Institutions was established. Financial authorization for fiscal year 1972 was $91 million and $120 million for each of the following three fiscal years.

Another section of Part C is entitled "Emergency Assistance for Institutions of Higher Education." These funds are to help institutions determine the nature and causes of distress, the means whereby such stress can be eliminated, and to improve the schools' capabilities for dealing with financial problems. $40 million were authorized through fiscal year 1974. In order to qualify for this aid the institutions must be public or non-profit and must demonstrate a need for money in order to continue their operation; must show an inability to continue or substantial curtailment of academic programs to the detriment of quality; must perform a comprehensive cost analysis; must disclose financial information; and must consider implementing the reforms they discover.

The next significant amendment comprising the 1972 legislative changes is Part D - "Student Assistance" which is a revision of Part A, Title IV (Educational Opportunity Grants) of the 1965 Law. To begin with, $170 million was authorized for fiscal year 1972 to be followed by $200 million each fiscal year ending prior to July 1, 1975. What was previously the Educational Opportunity Grant has become the Basic Opportunity Grant (BOG) for all students and the Supplemental Educational

Opportunity Grant (SEOG) specifically for the poor. Under this section it is also stated that payments are to be made to the states in order to assist them in making financial aid available. Moreover, special programs and projects are to be financed in an effort to identify and encourage qualified but poor students, to prepare the poor for post-secondary education, and to provide remedial and other services.

The Basic Educational Opportunity Grants make grants available to all students, not only the poor. Essentially, the grants cannot exceed $1,400 per student per year minus the family's contribution, cannot exceed the difference between the family contribution and cost of attendance, and cannot amount to more than half the cost of attendance which includes tuition, fees, room and board or commuting expenses, books, and an allowance for other expenses determined by the Commissioner to be reasonably related to the student's attendance. It is also stated that the grant is proportionately reduced for part-time students and that if available funds are insufficient to meet the grant entitlements, the individual grants will be reduced according to a specified schedule of percentages. Another stipulation states that no BOG payments shall be made unless the appropriations for Supplemental Grants are at least $130,093,000; for Work-Study at least $237,400,000; and for student loan funds at least $286,000,000.

The Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants are basically an extension of the present EOG program; however, half-time students are now eligible. The two important criteria for receipt of these grants are "exceptional financial need" [illegible] and academic or creative promise with a lack of financial means for obtaining a post-secondary education without this grant. Appropriations for initial year awards were raised from $170 million for fiscal year 1972 to $200 million for each successive fiscal year ending prior to July 1, 1975. The institution is to set the amounts for individual grants. Maximum grant levels are raised from $1,000 to $1,500 or half the amount of student aid provided by the institution, whichever is the lesser. The Commissioner will furnish to the institutions the basic criteria for determination of need. Some significant specifications for distribution of the grants include spreading the funds to all eligible students in attendance at the institution, and state allocations based upon the number of full-time and the full-time equivalent of part-time students enrolled in institutions of higher learning, in relation to the total number of such students in the state.

Another significant change to be found in the Education Amendments of 1972 concerns the College Work-Study Program. First, the designation of low-income students has been changed to those with greatest financial need. Furthermore, half-time students can participate in the program, and cost of attendance is now taken into consideration. Authorizations are as follows: 1972-- $330 million; 1973-- $360 million; 1974-- $390 million; and 1975-- $420 million. In addition, a new section called Work-Study for Community Service Learning Program has been added for which veterans are given preference. This program encourages part-time employment in such areas as environmental quality, health care, welfare, housing and neighborhood improvement, etc. $25 million were authorized for fiscal year 1972 along with $50 million for each succeeding year through 1975.

The NDEA loan program, or direct student loans (NDSL) are also extended for three years. Its purpose is to stimulate and assist in the establishment and maintenance of funds within the institutions to be distributed as low-interest loans. Local institutions are expected to contribute in capital 1/9 the amount of Federal contributions. Eligibility for the loans is loosely defined as being in need of the money in order to pursue a course of study and being a student in good standing at the institution. Loans may be cancelled for services such as teaching the poor, the handicapped, or serving in the Armed Forces in areas of hostility. A further addition to the direct loan program is the requirement of an affidavit of educational purpose. The student cannot receive a grant, loan, or loan guarantee authorized under this section without swearing that the money is to be used solely for attendance at the institution. Authorizations for the loans are $375 million for fiscal year 1972 and $400 million for each of the three fiscal years thereafter. Loan ceilings are $10,000 aggregate for graduate students (including undergraduate loans), $5000 for the student who has completed two years of college, and $2500 in the case of any other student. Also included in this section of the Educational Amendments is the establishment of a National Commission on the Financing of Postsecondary Education which, among other tasks, will review alternative forms of student assistance, producing a report by April 30, 1973.

The last three programs discussed above -- the EOG, College Work-Study, and NDSL -- were the subject of a supplemental appropriations bill cleared by Congress for 1972-73. The approval of supplemental funds for student aid is a significant victory because not only is additional money for education practically unprecedented, but Congress rarely votes for money not specifically requested by the Administration in such a bill. Moreover, this is the first time that the Appropriations Committee has afforded highest priority to EOG. The additional aid looks something like this:

	Previously Appropriated for 1972-73	Additional Amounts, '72-73	Additional Students Who Can be Aided
EOG	$165.3 million	$45. m	75,000
CWS	244.6 million	25.6 m	59,000
NDSL :	293 miliion*	23.6 m	33,000

*originally requested by the President

Also approved are $5.8 million for veterans outreach and recruitment programs (Upward Bound, Talent Search, and Special Services). Although helpful, the final figures were far below the recommendations of the higher education associations and the sums voted by the Senate.[67]

A more complete picture of financial aid as it stands today is provided by brief mention of selected aspects of some of the other programs instituted or expanded under the Educational Amendments. First, grants to states for State Scholarship Incentives have been authorized in the amount of $50 million for each year from 1972-75. Matching grants from the government of 50% will increase State appropriations. Student recipients are to be selected on the basis of substantial financial need determined by criteria established annually by the states and approved by the Commissioner. Grants are not to exceed $1,500 per full-time student.

Another change in educational legislation involves Special Programs for Students from Disadvantaged Backgrounds. Although similar to the previous legislation, thsi amendment includes the creation of new Educational Opportunity Centers as well as the addition of vocational and career education programs. Essentially, these programs (Upward Bound, Talent Search and Special Services) will continue to perform the same functions, i.e., identifying, preparing, and aiding qualified students from low-income families in the pursuit of a postsecondary education. However, the Educational Opportunity Centers will provide more extensive and personalized services pertaining to higher education in areas where there are major concentrations of low-income populations.

In the area of loans, the new legislation extends the guaranteed student loans and allows families with incomes over $15,000 per year to borrow. Furthermore, the Student Loan Marketing Association has been created - a government sponsored private corporation serving as a secondary market and warehousing facility for insured student loans. This association enables the poor who did not have previous bank connections to more easily obtain funds.

Other higher education benefits of interest provided for in the Education Amendments are the specific mention of persons from disadvantaged backgrounds under Title IX of the Higher Education Act of 1965, which covers graduate study grants, and the establishment and expansion of community colleges, which now include occupational schools under Title X of the Higher Education Act of 1965; specifications for support for the improvement of postsecondary education, including the introduction of institutional reforms designed to expand equal educational opportunity; the creation of the National Institute of Education, the function of which is to activate the stated policy of the United States which reads "to provide to every person an equal opportunity to receive an education of high quality regardless of his race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or social class;"[68] and the establishment of Title IV - Indian Education (under Public Law 874), and the amendment to Title VIII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, both of which are devoted to the improvement of educational opportunities for Indians and which include the development of innovative programs for children such as bilingual and bicultural education, special health and nutritional services, remedial and compensatory instruction, as well as a special program relating to adult education for Native Americans. In addition, the Office of Indian Education, to be part of the Office of Education, and a National Advisory Council on Indian Education were established. Other relevant developments in the new legislation include the new Title IX of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 called the Ethnic Heritage Program, which extends to higher education and stresses the development and dissemination of curriculum materials as well as the promotion of programs, all relating to various ethnic groups; Title VII - Emergency School Aid - dedicated to the elimination or prevention of minority group isolation and the discriminatory effects of such isolation; Title X - Assistance to Institutions of Higher

Education, an amendment to Part A of Title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965 which will now provide cost-of-education allowances to institutions based on the total number of under-graduates at the institution and the number of students who are recipients of basic grants, supplemental EOG's, work-study payments, and some loans —these funds are to be used solely to defray instructional expenses; veterans' cost of instruction payments to institutions of higher education which will go to those educational or vocational rehabilitation institutions providing special services for veterans such as active recruitment, college preparation, counselling, and tutorial assistance, and finally, general assistance to graduate schools.

A significant feature of the recent reforms, particularly of the 1972 amendments, is the emphasis placed upon aiding the technical and vocational schools. Insured Student Loans, Work-Study, and cost-of-education allowances have been extended to vocational students. In addition, programs devoted to special vocational education for the disadvantaged, curriculum development in vocational-technical schools, continued support for the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education, cooperative vocational education, consumer and homemaking education, residential vocational schools, and exemplary programs and projects for vocational education have all been authorized. Although this nation-wide thrust of the poor toward career and technical education may be helpful for those who truly desire such training, chances of developing intellectual skills may be very much decreased.

A more challenging undertaking would be to encourage and prepare interested minority-poverty students or veterans for academic pursuits which might open broader vistas to these people whose potential may otherwise remain underestimated and consequently underdeveloped.

To better understand some of the strengths and inadequacies of this new legislation, let us turn to some of the weaknesses that have been inherent in financial aid distribution so far and the problems which individual recipients are prone to experience.

So far, there has been increasing success in distributing the EOG's to low-income students; however, practices that are successful at the national level may vary within the states and even more at the institutional level. We do not know whether the most needy have received the larger awards or who was unable to enroll because of insufficient financial aid. Another problem with Federal subsidies involves the practice of granting money to institutions as opposed to direct aid to students. This tends to preserve the status quo because new types of programs and institutions are not necessary and therefore not sought out. However, the cost-of-education supplements may improve the situation by encouraging institutions to seek low-income, high risk students.

Evidently, income is the key barrier to higher education. The present allocation of students to institutions is too heavily dependent on parental ability to pay and not sufficiently dependent on the capacity or potential of the student. Public institutions particularly have been criticized for failure to enroll their share of black students and extremely disadvantaged students in general.

In addition to the large-scale inequities in financial aid distribution there are some subtle factors involved which are disturbing on a more individual basis. First, with regard to the distribution of tuition and living expenses, many minority group college students have expressed dissatisfaction with the demeaning manner in which their funds are doled out to them. There seems to be no effort to conceal the institution's suspicion that the students probably lack discretion to handle the money wisely. Many recipients view the aid more as an entitlement than a gift — they are after all, engaged in an effort to develop their talents more fully, thereby qualifying now and in the future as contributing members of the labor force.[69]

Student recipients of financial aid have also reported the concern that they may lose their financial support if they pursue their political beliefs. Furthermore, it is not uncommon to experience a feeling of restriction, guilt, or scorn from the student's community because he has been chosen to the exclusion of others, and it is recognized that his family is financially hard put; therefore, the student may feel obliged not to spend money on "frivolities," which is to say that he cannot feel free to participate very often in the social life of the college. The result is that students do not take advantage of one of the basic purposes of a college education as they see it -- to enjoy a well-rounded university experience in order to think more coherently.[70]

Campus work-study jobs are still mainly menial and not related to the student's interests or field of study. A menial job for a student from a family where both parents have menial jobs is not the same as a similar job for a student with professional parents. It is psychologically impossible for many poor students to take these jobs.

It is unfortunate that the cost of living and educational costs are not carefully separated and are so readily underestimated since there are definite variations among students with regard to their financial needs. Some live at home while others pay for rent and meals; recreation is important but not adequately considered by financial aid officers. Money for child care or for support of a student's mate number among other considerations frequently overlooked. Essentially, assessment of financial needs are rather unrealistic, restrictive, and not adequately individualized.

Students have also reported that they experience a sense of depersonalization throughout the entire financial aid process. From the beginning, students are not sufficiently informed as to the types of aid available or how to go about getting it. This information void is perpetuated by counselors and financial aid officers who are often unwilling to encourage students or inform them as to the possibilities available.[71]

Parents also feel dehumanized as well as embarrassed because of the Confidential Statements they are required to submit. They dislike revealing their income and are sometimes uncertain as to how the information will be used.

Consequently, they often inflate their salaries in order to hide from their children and outsiders their actual small annual income. It later comes as a complete shock when they find out that on the basis of those figures they are expected to contribute from $100 to $1,000 per year toward their child's education.

A final problem is attitudinal resistance to loans on the part of the poor. Students feel the pressure awaiting them upon graduation to pay back the loans. Having experienced their share of difficulties in the job market to begin with, and judging from their families' negative experiences with loan companies and collection agencies in the past, low-income students have exaggerated fears of loans and their possible failure to repay them.[72] Many of the young people in the target population still have to be sold on the idea of seeking a college education in the first place; they certainly cannot be expected to be willing to go deeply into debt to obtain one.

In essence, needs and desires, particularly from the students' point of view, have not been adequately met by the financial aid process nor by the distribution of funds.

Some of the more immediate strengths and weaknesses of the most recent legislation can now be discussed, having some perspective on past and present financial policies and associated problems. A brief analysis of the positive and negative impact of the new legislation will lead us to some recommendations for change which will also serve to further clarify the status of the present reform in the effort to equalize opportunity for higher education.

Some of the beneficial aspects for the needy include the following changes. The concept of entitlement, meaning the right of all to Federal financial assistance for higher education, is explicitly stated in the new laws. Furthermore, the concept of equalization has been put into effect to a greater extent than in past legislation. The Basic Grants Program in particular aims to equalize college enrollment rates by income levels, and when combined with other Federal student aid programs, to encourage a broader choice of institutions to all students. This Program also promotes horizontal and vertical equity. The first term means that those from similar economic circumstances will be treated equally, receiving the same amount of grant funds and being equally eligible for assistance. Vertical equity indicates differential treatment for those of different income levels. In addition, the basic Grants Program, at least theoretically, provides a minimum amount of resources to all who need aid.

With the cost-of-education supplements, institutions may possibly compete for high-risk, low-income students. The poor student might actually have a choice as to which program or school is most appealing. Moreover, the higher the subsidy for the low-income student, whether it be through grants or cost-of-education allowances, the greater his chances for attending a wider range of schools, including the more expensive colleges, public or private schools, colleges or universities. Lower subsidies would, on the other hand, encourage junior college attendance. Another important point - although aid is still being directed primarily to the institutions rather than to the students, the Federal assistance program now considers both the financial need of the student and the cost of education at the institution. Meanwhile, some funds do go directly to the students. This emerging trend toward giving aid to students rather than to institutions approaches the goal of creating a student clientele which has the power to select from various institutions. Not only does this raise the status of students to that of purchasers rather than recipients, but institutions may become more responsive to the needs of their clientele. Furthermore, in order to reach the target populations in the first place, advance information to students regarding financial aid opportunities is now encouraged.

Although the Education Amendments express fine intentions on paper, the extent to which they can be carried out is uncertain. The concept of entitlement is admirable, but will administrative processes and the funds available be equal to the task of materializing the guarantee of educational opportunity for all? Another inadequacy which may surface with the application of the Basic Grants Program is a decrease in amount of funds going to the poor while a greater proportion of students of all income levels are supported. Hopefully, however, the SEOG Program will spread funds to those from low-income families.

There are other possible pitfalls in the new legislation. Because students will be receiving increasing amounts of financial aid, institutions may choose to raise tuitions, even though this is not intended in the legislation. Thus, students may not be that much better off than they were before the legislation was passed. In addition, the New Loan Bank for low-income students may still meet with attitudinal resistance from these students and their families who may have experienced previous difficulties with other loans. It is often difficult for these people to obtain substantial employment in the currently shrinking labor market, and, even though the repayment requirements have been eased, the attitudinal and real burdens of repayment still exist. This issue centers around the question of whether or not these students who begin their careers with some handicaps should have to begin work at reduced net salaries in order to pay back the loan after graduation. Some feel that the loan recipient labors under a severe disadvantage after college because of the repayment required by the loan process.

RECOMMENDATIONS

With a view toward equalizing access to higher education for students from minority/poverty populations, investigators have, after gathering information on the inequities and inadequacies of financial aid distribution, recommended some alternative proposals and reforms which might enhance low-income students' chances for equal educational participation.

We strongly advocate that higher education be free to all, and, in addition, that subsidies be included such that the student can meet the family and other responsibilities which he may feel are his. We have pointed earlier to the fact that while a low-income youngster is in college and out of the labor market, the family experiences an income loss in addition to those monies contributed to the cost of his education. The idea that the student should be paid to attend college in order to reimburse him for the income he is foregoing by going to college is increasingly heard among investigators of the problem. Moreover, as long as the cost of education is regarded as a private benefit and private expense and not an investment by the society in the development of human potential, the inequity problem may very well remain unsolved. Obviously massive financial resource support for students and income subsidies for the low-income families are required. If we do not have funds available for higher education and the related cost of family income subsidies, some say that we cannot talk seriously about higher education for large numbers of low-income people. Moreover, money is also needed to generate and operate special programs for minority and low-income students. The needed quality and necessary magnitude of these programs cannot be met with the funds currently available to them.

With the new legislation and the possible resulting administrative chaos in disbursing Basic Grants directly to students, it should be stressed that families need to know particularly early about financial aid opportunities. This may influence decisions concerning the type of high school program to enter in addition to which college to attend. Fortunately, the new legislation does encourage such counseling for low-income students of grade 11 or lower under the Supplemental EOG and at the high school level for students in the Special Programs for the disadvantaged.

The issue of early and complete dissemination of information concerning financial aid policies and procedures is an important one. A study conducted by the College Scholarship Service (CSS) on student attitudes and concerns toward financial aid revealed a number of dissatisfactions. Most students felt that they should play an active role in determining financial aid policies and viewed the problem of personalization and contact with financial aid officers as pressing but potentially remediable. The recommendations resulting from this study included greater information dissemination about financial aid procedures with better and more understanding aid counselors at the secondary and post-secondary levels, the making of more flexible financial aid procedures, and encouraging the reporting of special circumstances on the Parents' Confidential Statement.

Improvements on current loan programs have also been recommended. A panel of the CSS had considered methods for combining direct subsidies and self-financing and had arrived at two options: "Grants for Access-Loans for Choice (GL), which is a program of grants based solely on income, supplemented by loans available to those students wishing to self-finance more expensive enrollment choices; and "Loans for Access - Grants for Choice" (LG), which makes loans generally available, supplemented by grants based on income and college expenses. The first (GL) seeks to maximize enrollment of low-income students by giving equal grants to all students of a given income class regardless of the variation in institutional prices. The second program (LG), on the other hand, emphasizes the equalization of distribution of low-income students among institutions by providing larger grants to those attending higher priced schools. However, if the highest priority is to be broadened access to the largest number of needy students, the better policy would be the first, which makes grants available primarily on the basis of income.[73] The new legislation incorporates both principals by equalizing funds according to income levels and by taking into account the institution which the recipient attends.

Still, the question of effective loan programs remains to be solved. The Zacharias Plan (Contingent Loan Plan) has been put forth as a means for students to repay their loans on the basis of a fixed percentage of income. This would extend the period of repayment and would take into account differences in anticipated earnings, so that the possibility of earning less than average would not be as great a handicap.[74] Even though the contingent loan is more humane, the preference has been expressed by many that loans be eliminated entirely in favor of grants so that students are financially free from debt upon graduation.

Other recommendations for financial aid reform call for greater support for students transferring from two-year to four-year institutions and an end to the matching requirements placed on institutions, so that support of low-income students relies more heavily on public funds or the states and their agencies in amounts appropriate to the needs of the students.[75] The model for implementation is the Ford Foundation sponsored upper level scholarship program administered by the College Entrance Examination Board.

Finally, it is necessary to develop a more accurate system of need analysis, one which will not only foster consistency among institutional financial aid policies and allotments, but will distribute the funds more effectively to the neediest students rather than by proportions or ratios of state enrollments to national enrollments, as prescribed in the EOG Program. Need analysis also includes accurate assessment of individual academic and personal expenses in an effort to adequately meet the financial needs of the student. In the past, financial aid planning has not always carefully taken into account the true needs of students, often overlooking rent, recreation, transportation, child care, etc. Greater individualization of aid alotment computations is essential for a genuine program of financial support. Exemplary student budgets have been prepared by the Financial Aid Staff at Kennedy-King Community College in Chicago, Illinois. After extensive surveys and interviews of the 4,756 student population, fifteen budgets evolved which were designed to furnish the funds necessary for realistic student support. The budgets differentiated between married and non-married students, dependent and independent, those with children and those without, those on Welfare, those with working spouses, those living at home and away from home, etc. By combining these variables, the Staff created different budgets suited to the various needs. The breakdown of expenses included rent, utilities, fees and tuition, books and supplies, transportation, meals, clothing, recreation, laundry, personal grooming, toilet articles, medical care, and child care where appropriate. These budgets are landmarks in financial aid assessment because of the extent to which they provide for the everyday but necessary expenses of living as well as schooling. The fifteen budgets ranged anywhere from the area of $3,400 per 12 months for the dependent student living at home to around $7,600 per 12 months for the married students with children.[76] The Kennedy-King study, in addition to providing exemplary assessments, revealed the inadequacies of present assessments by indicating realistic costs of living which are usually not considered under present policies. Such thorough and individualized support programs would be a worthwhile and urgently needed financial aid reform for low-income students seeking higher education.

CONCLUSION

Our investigations have revealed the large-scale inequities involved in access to higher education based on the small numbers of low-income and minority students who attend college and the inadequate resources available to them, either because of familial economic handicaps and/or insufficient financial aid funds and distribution of these funds. Although the recent legislation, the Education Amendments of 1972, aims to improve the lot of minority/poverty populations with regard to higher education, we are still faced with insufficient funds, problems of distribution, inefficient financial aid processes, and impeding personal factors which affect not only low-income students but their families as well. The new legislation, at least in theory, jolts the status quo by encouraging all types of institutions to take on financially needy students and to develop programs geared toward the target populations. Although the laws encourage further significant reforms in addition to developing and increasing programs and broadening enrollments in the various institutions, this is only a small in-road into a profound economic and social problem.

As long as education is conceived of as a benefit to be purchased by the privileged few rather than a necessary investment in the development of human resources for the benefit of society at large, we can expect marginal improvements in equalizing educational opportunity. Moreover, as long as the nations' financial resources remain unequally distributed so that the families of potential students as well as the students themselves remain deprived, we cannot seriously expect to create the pluralistic educational system for which we are striving.

FOOTNOTES -- CHAPTER V

p.1 1. Elizabeth W. Haven and Dwight H. Horch. How College Students Finance Their Education: A National Survey of the Educational Interests, Aspirations and Finances of College Sophomores in 1969-70, CSS Supplementary Tables, January, 1972, pp. 33-39.

p.2 2. John Egerton, "Higher Education for 'High Risk' Students,"(Atlanta: Southern Educational Foundation, 1968), p. 25.

p.3 3. Earl F. Cheit, The New Depression in Higher Education. A study of Financial Conditions at Four Colleges and Universities. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971), p. 138.

p.4 4. Alice M. Rivlin, Systematic Thinking for Social Action. (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1971), p. 37.

p.5 5. See U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Toward a Long-Range Plan for Federal Financial Support for Higher Education. A Report to the President (1969), Table I, p. 5. (based on Project TALENT data).

p.5 6. Ibid., pp. 31-35.

p.5 7. Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, Quality and Equality: Revised Recommendations. New Levels of Federal Responsibility for Higher Education. A Supplement to the 1968 special report by the Commission. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970).

p.5 8. Rivlin, *Op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

p.6 9. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Annual Report*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968).

p.6 10. Roger E. Bolton, "The Economics and Public Financing of Higher Education: An Overview," in *The Economics and Financing of Higher Education in the United States*, A Compendium of papers submitted to the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the U.S. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 13.

p.6 11. Robert H. Berls, "Higher Education Opportunity and Achievement in the United States," *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 181.

p.6 12. Kenneth A. Simon and W. Vance Grant, *Digest of Educational Statistics*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, September, 1970), p. 120.

p.6 13. Berls, *Op. cit.*, p. 184.

p.7 14. David Segal, "'Equity' Versus 'Efficiency' in Higher Education," in *The Economics and Financing of Higher Education in the United States*, *Ibid.*, pp. 142-143.

p.7 15. Berls, *Op. cit.*, pp. 151-157.

p.7 16. Dorothy M. Knoell, *People Who Need College: A Report on Students We Have Yet to Serve*. (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Junior Colleges, 1970).

p.8 17. Humphrey Doerman, "Lack of Money: A Barrier to Higher Education," in *Barriers to Higher Education* (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1971), pp. 137-138.

p.8 18. *Ibid*., p. 138.

p.8 19. E.F. Cheit, *Op, cit*., p. 142.

p.9 20. *Ibid*.

p.9 21. Edward Sanders and James Nelson, "Financing of Undergraduates, 1969-70," *Financial Aid News*, Vol. 10, No. 2, July 1970.

p.9 22. John I. Kirkpatrick, "The State's Role in Financing Higher Education." Paper presented at Eastern Association of College and University Business Officers meeting, Toronto, November 16, 1970 (mimeo).

p.10 23. Bolton, *Op. cit*., p. 76.

p.11 24. *Ibid*., pp. 79-80.

p.11 25. The following are generalized descriptions of Federal programs prior to 1972. They have since been somewhat altered or expanded under the Education Amendments of 1972.

p.11 26. Bolton, *Op. cit*., p. 79.

p.12 27. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

p.12 28. *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

p.12 29. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

p.13 30. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

p.14 31. Bolton, *Op, cit.*, p. 97.

p.14 32. Sanders and Nelson, *Op. cit.*

p.15 33. David S. Mundel, "Distribution of Federal Student Subsidies" (June 26, 1970, processed).

p.15 34. *Ibid.*

p.16 35. *Ibid.*

p.16 36. Edward J. Mishan, "Some Heretical Thoughts on University Reform," *Encounter*, Vol. XXXII, No. 3, March 1969.

p.16 37. Mundel, *Op. cit.*

p.18 38. Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, *A Compendium of Federal Education Laws* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office , May 1967), pp. 125-128.

p.18 39. J. Kirkpatrick, Op. cit.

p.18 40. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 231, "Undergraduate Enrollment in the Two-Year and Four-Year Colleges: Oct. 1970," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), 1972.

p.19 41. The following figures concerning state financial aid to students are taken from The Education Commission of the States (ECS) bulletin, Higher Education in the States. Vol. 3, No. 1, Jan.-Feb., 1972, pp. 1-22.

p.19 42. Ibid.

p.20 43. Ibid.

p.20 44. Ibid.

p.20 45. Ibid.

p.21 46. Ibid.

p.21 47. Ibid.

p.22 48. Ibid.

p.22 49. Ibid.

p.22 50. Ibid.

p. 23 51. New York Times, June 25, 1972.

p.23 52. Education Commission of the States (ECS), Op. cit., p. 5. See also the October 1971 issue, Vol. 2, No. 8.

p.23 53. Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 4, May, 1971, pp. 68-71.

p.24 54. ECS, Legislative Review, Vol. I, No. 10, August 13, 1971, p. 2.

p.24 55. The above mentioned issues of Higher Education in the States and the Legislative Review lead to these conclusions concerning state trends in funding public institutions.

p.24 56. Robert W. Hartman, "A Comment on the Pechman-Hansen-Weisbrod Controversy," Journal of Human Resources, Vol. 5, Fall 1970, pp. 519-523.

p.25 57. ECS, Legislative Review, Vol. I, No. 6, April 12, 1971, p. 3.

p.26 58. Bolton, Op, cit., p. 19 and p. 102.

p.26 59. Ibid., p. 19.

p.26 60. Ibid., p. 102.

p.28 61. Cheit, Op, cit. pp. 130-132.

p.30 62. Memorandum from the College Scholarship Service (CSS), Courtesy of Louis Rice, "Supplemental Appropriations for Student Aid (1972-73). Status of Higher Education Bill."

p.31 63. The text of the Higher Education Act of 1965 can be found in *A Compendium of Federal Educational Laws*, *Op. cit*., pp. 113-163, 221-228.

p.32 64. See the U.S. Congress House Committee on Education and Labor, Special Subcommittee on Education, *Higher Education Amendments of 1968*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office) for the text of this law.

p.35 65. Lawrence Gladieux, "A Perspective on Federal Student Aid Legislation," *Financial Aid Report*, Vol. I, No. 3, College Entrance Examination Board, May 1972, pp. 1, 8-10.

p.35 66. *Conference Report*, House of Representative's Report No. 92-1085, 92nd Congress, May 23, 1972, U.S. Government Printing Office.

p.40 67. CSS draft of a report, *Op. cit.*

p.42 68. *Conference Report*, *Op. cit*.

p.45 69. A Report of the Committee on Student Attitudes and Concerns Toward Financial Aid, submitted to the Panel on Student Financial Need Analysis of the College Scholarship Service (CSS), "How Students See It," September 9, 1970.

p.45 70. *Ibid*.

p.46 71. *Ibid*.

p.47 72. Refer to unpublished materials from SCOPE directed by Dale Tillery at the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, Berkeley, California. His data are very informative concerning attitudes of various income groups toward loans and other sources of funding.

p.53 73. Draft of a report from the CSS, Courtesy of Lois Rice, "A Proposed National Program of Student Assistance."

p.53 74. See Zacharia's summary of the Educational Opportunity Bank concept in Bolton, Op, cit., pp. 89-92.

p.53 75. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, a special report and recommendations, A Chance to Learn: An Action Agenda for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., March 1970). Emphasis is placed upon increased aid on the part of the states to finance higher education in the report of The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, The Capitol and the Campus: State Responsibility for Postsecondary Education. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., April 1971).

p.55 76. Working documents, Office of Financial Aid, Kennedy-King College, 7047 South Stewart Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60621, Courtesy of Kermith K. Owens, Director of Financial Aid.

Chapter VI: Ethnic Studies

The battlecry has gone up, and has become a cliche even before the battle is over; in every area of education, the students cry "relevance!" and the search is on for the simplest formula (for everyone prefers formulas) to meet the demand. The demand arises, as we have seen, particularly from the new populations of college students, those from traditionally college oriented families who yet seem to have new ideas of what they want from college and society, and those who, because of ethnic, social, or economic circumstances are among the first of their family and even community to experience college life. And out of the varieties of relevance which they recommend to educators--with varying degrees of insistence--one on which both types of students emphatically agree is ethnic studies.

The media have rushed to the effort to make sure the public is informed concerning the means used to express this demand. Black students carrying rifles across the campus of a nationally famous university make a sensational front page news photograph; unfortunately it is all too easy for the majority of newspaper readers to make the simple connection between black studies and guns on campus. Fortunately, most of those actually involved in resolving the issue have been aware that the situation is more complex, and many dialogues have taken place, with a variety of results. After three or four years of such dialogues, most of which have resulted in some form of ethnic studies offering within the schools involved, it should not be necessary here to offer a rationale for such studies in the hope of persuading more educational authorities that such programs are justified. Hundreds--perhaps thousands--of pages are already in print containing learned and/or impassioned arguments for such programs, as well as cogent answers to all arguments against the idea.

By this time an estimated 170 programs around the country attest to the efficacy of these discussions. Yet a review of some of the major ideas behind the push for ethnic studies programs may be a good means of describing what such a program should be, and the goals toward which it should be designed. Like any other innovation which is prompted by political pressure, experiments in ethnic studies may be hastily assembled responses designed primarily for their surface appearance of meeting the demand. Actually, like any other academic endeavor, they can and should accomplish much more. The full potential of such a project can only be realized through careful and imaginative planning, and planners would do well to take into account some of the arguments offered by those who have worked most passionately to obtain these new programs.

The first of these arguments has precisely to do with relevance, and has had to be used, all too many times, to respond to those academicians who do not see ethnic studies as the type of endeavor suitable to their notion of a traditional university. To their opposition, proponents of the idea can answer in the same terms. The basic tradition of a university has been that, if it's "going on" in the world, a university will be interested in studying it, and in obtaining the best qualified individuals to hand the knowledge thus obtained down to students. Unquestionably, something unique and significant has been "going on" with regard to, for example, black people, as black people, in various circumstances all over the world. The same can be said of other Third World groups. To deny that this is so, or to deny that it is relevant, can serve only to intensify and justify the attacks from the ivory-tower school of criticism of academia. Even if such groups were not playing such a significant role in world history at the time, excluding them from "academic validity" while including other groups seems a little unfair, to say the least. As Gerald McWorter has bluntly phrased it,

> America is catching hell and that's why white folks are interested in black studies. Don't talk about "the intellectual validity of the black experience." Go to Yeshiva University and you talk to them about the validity of the Jewish experience and see what they tell you--you can just take that as an answer, whatever they give you. (McWorter, 1969; p. 72)

Thus such studies must be perceived as relevant simply because they deal with forces which are changing the world at this very moment. But there are other arguments, and other benefits which can be derived. It is becoming increasingly apparent that this society is not going to be able to come to grips with some of its most urgent problems until it moves away from its obsession with the "melting pot" image, which requires large-scale conformity in order to be validated, and begins to explore the complexities of a pluralistic society. It must be understood that we are not moving toward pluralism; we have always had it, but without official societal sanction we have found it easier to ignore. Only now is it becoming apparent that knowledge of many aspects of our society has been withheld, has been kept away from the majority of citizens by vague social forces and occasional deliberate efforts. Now, when growing numbers of people are showing themselves open to and interested in new alternatives of life style, is the very moment to make a deliberate leap in the direction of pluralism. The university has the opportunity to take the lead, by teaching scholars the facts about, as well as respect for, different cultures which have long existed within, yet apart from, the amalgam commonly viewed as American society.

There are many other positive benefits to be gained in a variety of areas by the establishment of ethnic studies. Such a step may do much to remedy one of the consequences of the society's failure to endorse the values of pluralism--an accumulation of insults to self respect which have finally resulted in the breaking down of that self respect for too many citizens who simply never see themselves portrayed, through any of the formal or informal institutions of the society, as part of the mainstream. They are different, and difference is not a quality which is valued. At best, it means ostracism; too often, it means suspicion and persecution. It has already been pointed out that ethnic studies programs can provide one way of institutionalizing, and thereby gaining societal acceptance for, those differences which exist among specific ethnic groups. The other side of this coin is that, while the larger society is, we would hope, learning some degree of acceptance, at least for these particular differences, individual members of these previously excluded groups may be acquiring stronger feelings of group solidarity and pride. Such an advantage may work like a chain reaction. First, there is the minority group student, suddenly surrounded and perhaps intimidated by the academic community, with its lifestyle so different from that of the community from which he has come. If there exists on campus some formalized proof of the academician's interest in, and respect for, this student's way of life, he may feel that there is, after all, a place for him in university life. A well planned ethnic studies program can serve this function. In addition, the program may provide a means for the student to meet others of his own background, students and instructors, and to gain the kind of support which such associations can bring. He will also see that he is a subject of interest because of his differences, because of his uniqueness as a black, as a Chicano, as a Puerto Rican, as an Oriental, or as a Native American. With the conditioning provided by the best programs, he will be able to avoid being swamped by the white middle class values which surely find one of their most secure refuges within the walls of a university. From this student's perspective, so different from that of most of his fellows, he will be able to evaluate those value differences which could, in other circumstances, be so damaging to him, and to arrive at his own confident conclusions. If he then can carry these conclusions back to his community, can communicate them in some way to others from the same background, then he will be helping the university perform a truly valuable educational and social function.

In this connection, the university may find an answer to another question with which it is struggling at this troubled time in its history--the relationship of university to community. It often happens that the university is located in the heart of a community which is not at all oriented toward higher education, whether that community be a black urban ghetto, a blue collar working class neighborhood, or a small rural town. By instituting programs which deal with the kinds of special populations found in these settings, the university is setting up an opportunity for real, not rhetorical, exchange. Members of the community will have the opportunity to benefit from educational offerings which are relevant to them, and the school, in turn, can utilize community people in designing and running its programs.

So far we have outlined some of the special benefits to be derived, almost as side effects, from the establishment of ethnic studies programs. Valuable as they are, they are secondary effects. The fact is that there are several primary reasons for ethnic studies within the university--reasons which directly relate to the university's functions of gathering and disseminating knowledge. The basic reason has already been given: ethnic studies programs mean the scholarly examination of very real and very significant things which are happening in the world today. Edwin Redkey has stated the rationale in a different way, with regard to black studies: "That people want to learn and that there is a body of material to be taught is sufficient reason to teach black history." (Redkey, 1969, p. 188) The argument could even be made that simply when people want to learn, that in itself is sufficient reason for instituting the study of a subject. The "body of material" may initially consist of nothing but the people's questions.

For these reasons ethnic studies will benefit everyone whom the endeavors of a university should be expected to affect. New knowledge will be added to the general pool of information. But we are dealing here not merely with a new set of facts. Ethnic studies at their very best may mean for this society the equivalent of donning a new pair of glasses where before we have been feeling our way with one lens blotted out. History may be rewritten, and perhaps we will come to a new realization of the extent to which "history" is subjective perception, not a fixed absolute. At least, we will be forced to recognize that we have been lied to--sometimes by omission, sometimes by deliberate untruth. As students learn, for example, about Aesop, or about Dumas, they will be breaking down in their minds the old, assumed dichotomy between "Western civilization," meaning the white races, and "those others," such as Africa or the Americas before the arrival of Europeans, which are "other" because they are simply omitted, their contributions and characteristics assumed to be inferior and unworthy of study. For another example, schools may be forced to stop skirting so daintily around the issue of slavery. Study of the subject need not be turned into a specific catalogue of individual atrocities perpetrated against black people by white people, but we are still not very far removed from the traditional textbook picture of happy, banjo-strumming, carefree darkies down on the plantation. And we must not forget all the stories we are fed about those bloodthirsty savages who were here when America was "discovered."

Mere addition of a few new facts, and sheepish admission of a few old distortions should not constitute the only way ethnic studies alter our conception of history. Another kind of distortion has been pointed out by C. Vann Woodward, discussing the predominant role of white historians in the development of the study of Negro history:

> Without their contribution, Negro history would be far more impoverished and neglected than it now is. Granting the value of the part white historians have played in this field, the Negro still has understandable causes for dissatisfaction. For however sympathetic they may be, white historians with few exceptions are primarily concerned with the moral,

> social, political, and economic problems of white men and their past. They are prone to present to the Negro as his history the record of what the white man believed, thought, legislated, did and did not do about the Negro. The Negro is a passive element, the man to whom things happen. He is the object rather than the subject of this kind of history. (Woodward, 1969, pp. 19-20)

This same complaint can be made about the substance of our knowledge of many other groups. The red men who inhabited this continent before Europeans arrived are known primarily (a) for their gullibility in the face of the white man's guile (selling Manhattan Island for a few beads and trinkets; exhibiting a weakness for the liquor pushed upon them by white benefactors with not altogether unimpeachable motives), or (b) for their violent opposition to the attempts of the Europeans to colonize the Americas. Of the variations of culture among the different native tribes, little is taught. Few educational sources bother to mention the violence done to these earlier Americans by white settlers, violence which was often condoned or even fostered by governmental institutions. Only now are more facts coming to be known about the processes by which white Europeans gained control of land which belonged, under one law, to red men, or under other laws, to Mexican citizens.

Our understanding of cultural traditions can also be enriched by viewing ancient history from a broader perspective. The tendency is to view the inhabitants of the earliest civilizations of Egypt and the Near East as being, for all practical purposes, Anglo-Saxons wearing different clothing and hairstyles. If ethnic and cultural differences in such civilizations were presented honestly and in detail, students would no doubt have a far different picture of their "western" heritage, and just exactly who shares in it.

History, however, is not the only traditional area of knowledge which can be enriched by the new perspectives of ethnic studies. Concern of scholars in this area will touch on, for example, psychology, through a new examination of the nature and mechanisms of prejudice and oppression, or, perhaps, economics, as the processes of discrimination are analyzed. Ultimately, "ethnic studies" is not just a label to be hung on another separate, lonely little department of a university; it is a means and an inspiration to re-think and re-organize most significant fields of thought.

Such sweeping possibilities do nothing to lessen the many complex problems involved in setting up the most effective programs. Some difficulties are similar to those encountered in any attempt to systematize what is considered to be a "new field" of study. It is apparent that, given the structure we have imposed on knowledge thus far for convenience, ethnic studies will extend into many other disciplines. Because such categories are always arbitrary, the best solution is the development of an administrative structure and form which will allow for the greatest flexibility for every student in discovering and studying what is of interest to him. It will have to be the decision of the individual school as to which administrative alternatives are desirable for the most effective program. Is it desirable or practicable to offer a degree? Is it feasible to have both undergraduate and graduate programs? Which possible form--department, committee, center, college, institute--will allow for greatest flexibility and usefulness? Each university, of course, has its own unique resource problems and traditional forms of organization. It will have to make its own assessment of its limitations. However, if this assessment functions as a wall against change simply out of institutional inertia, the loss to the university and those it serves will be enormous, and inexcusable.

Even when radical and imaginative solutions to structural problems can be devised, it is extremely difficult to face with courage the political problems which arise. What, for example, is to be the ethnic composition of the program? The types of questions which an ambitious program will be examining are so significant that, ideally, every student should benefit from them. In addition, there are serious legal questions which may arise if students are excluded on the basis of race. Of course, on many campuses the problem may not even arise. And there are many possible answers to be tried, given understanding and ingenuity on the part of those involved. The first step is to incorporate all those aspects of ethnic studies which serve to correct or augment traditional assumptions of any subject into the teaching of each of those subjects. This step would seem to be the bare minimum of effort to be expected of any institution of learning. Thus, for example, students won't have to take a course entitled "Black History" to know the truth about the historical roles of black people in American society. Next, it is important to realize that the role of ethnic studies programs will change as the programs are tried. The knowledge they may be asked to impart initially largely concerns matters that have been suppressed or ignored for years in American education. Serious students will want to seek out this knowledge; they have had enough of being conned by the sweetness-and-light theory of American studies. Eventually, however, this sort of knowledge will filter out to other areas of study and it may not be necessary for students to seek out the ethnic studies courses to "get all the facts." At this point the nature of the programs may begin to be more specialized and may have much greater leeway for imaginative innovation. In addition, the political situation surrounding the programs may change, and there may be greater opportunity to experiment to please more people, without fear of intense opposition from others.

In the meantime, however, the nature of the programs, the degree to which they may be called radical and the connotations with which that term may be deliberately charged, present still another problem. To what extent may such programs dare to be "political"? What degree of activism may they include? Both questions are at the heart of much of the discontent among students currently in the universities in all fields of study. These students, and their allies within and outside the university, point out that the school is already a political institution, that it cannot avoid playing this role by any means; that by allowing some activities or speakers and excluding others, it is in every case taking a political stance--and a highly influential one, at that. To exclude "activism" means only, to define certain acts as beyond the pale, while sanctioning others.

In this context, it is worthwhile to note another criticism frequently made by opponents of ethnic studies programs, who protest that they cannot see for what such programs can prepare students. Leaving aside the question of the desirability of college as a career-training academy, we can examine this question in light of the activism proscription. Many Third World students see such programs as means of acquiring a solid foundation of methods and means for helping others of the same culture rise out of the inferior position to which they have been relegated in this society. Surely their intentions and ambitions cannot be faulted in and of themselves. The university which seriously considers argument in opposition to such practical, career-oriented intentions, such arguments against pragmatism in college curriculum, must ask itself why it allows students to study social work, or engineering. On the other hand, those who argue for pragmatism, claiming that ethnic studies should not be included in a college curriculum because they do not seem to prepare students for any of the conventional careers, must ask themselves why students are allowed to concentrate in English literature or philosophy when they intend careers in business or some other unrelated field. Minority group students, perhaps, are not as naive as they seem to appear to these opponents. A student who wants to be a nuclear physicist or a doctor is not going to major in English literature, either, and it seems strange to fear that somehow he is unwittingly going to be trapped into ethnic studies and insidiously sidetracked from his chosen career. There are arguments to be made for a system of higher education which offers a student a chance of freely pursuing his intellectual development before he must worry about his career development, but as long as the university continues to mingle both functions, it can hardly be considered valid to object to a proposed course of study on the grounds that it fails to serve one function, which is presented for the occasion as the one and only function of the university. Such accusations could be levelled at the majority of courses offered.

Some universities have not been hindered by such objections, and have allowed students to make working in the community a part of their educational experience. Cornell students in the Africana Studies and Research Center work in the black community near the university, with rural blacks in the South, and even in Africa. Administrators at the college report that they are impressed with the rigorousness of the program, and the students themselves react enthusiastically.

The question of political content in college work presents more food for long, abstract discussions. We have already mentioned some of the ways in which the university is inherently a political institution. Students from different cultures are in a better position to see this political nature than are most of the white, middle class students, for many of the values which are taken for granted as universals by the school, and may not be questioned by students from similar backgrounds, may be alien to students who haven't grown up in the comfortable middle of the American mainstream. They are better able to see the irrationality when the university brands any deviation from these accepted values as "political." A Puerto Rican scholar offers his view on how these values and orientations are imposed on Third World people even in their own homelands:

> In Puerto Rico for example, the colonial model of the university is called a "Casa de Estudio," a house of studies. In this house of studies we assume our country was first discovered by the Spanish, as if the Indians had not been ahead of that game of discovery for

> at least 10,000 years, or were they not people at all. The idea of a house of studies itself is founded on the assumptions that a university will be held pure and celibate if the educational "priesthood" will not pollute it with politization.
>
> It is considered politization if you deal with our heritage by studying figures like Ramon Emeterio Betances, the great abolitionist doctor who organized the Lares revolt in 1868 and who lived and died an expatriate from the land and the people he loved so much as to sacrifice his life for their redemption. It is politicizing if you study the life of Doctor Pedro Albizu Campos, the great mulatto, Harvard graduate who spent almost the whole of his life in prison, first in Atlanta and later in our own prisons for his fight for Puerto Rican independence. If the question of poverty is explained in terms of overpopulation and limited natural resources, innate inferiority of the people, a culture of poverty which reflects itself in lack of ambition, industry, and initiative, that is depoliticized objective education. If both poverty and overpopulation are explained in terms of the appropriation of surplus value by a capitalist elite, in our case a foreign one, and the irrational economic system which makes consumption on credit a sacred commandment, with consequent need for external capital investments and loans, and the political controls which come along with that, then we are said to be polluting the virginal sterility of our house of studies. (Seda, 1970, pp.6-7)

The problem speaks for itself. Virtually every interpretation which can be "taught" in a university is political. Through ethnic studies, the university has the opportunity to offer a formalized means of exchanging views on such topics. The only thing we have to lose is our faith in dogmas of absolutes.

There are many other problems to be faced by the college which is trying conscientiously to establish a worthwhile ethnic studies program. Questions of content will usually have to be worked out on an individual basis, with adjustments for available resources and faculty, as well as for the expressed desires of potential participants. For the time being, at least, staffing the programs may present difficulties, for many administrators are bemoaning the shortage of qualified personnel. The very first step in dealing with this problem is to make a long, hard examination of those criteria used to determine who is "qualified." In other areas of college teaching, there is much discontent over the irrelevance of standards frequently used to make that determination. Too many students have watched inspiring teachers pack up and go off in disgrace, guilty of teaching too much and indulging too little in writing or other areas of activity arbitrarily deemed necessary. The area of ethnic studies is a particularly appropriate one in which to begin a critical evaluation of standards such as these. It is entirely possible to conceive of a valuable instructor in, for example, native American folklore and mythology, who does not even have a high school diploma. He may be a graduate of another system of education, the transmittal of tribal traditions, which is as worthy a system for the purposes of his people, and for the enlightenment of interested outsiders, as that which leads to a doctorate behind ivy-covered walls. Here is the ideal opportunity for experimentation with greater flexibility in selecting and utilizing college teachers.

On the other hand, it must be frankly admitted that ethnic studies, as a brand new and developing area of academic work, is fertile ground for ambitious but not particularly dedicated individuals who seek to establish themselves not on the basis of merit, but simply by virtue of being available, with acceptable credentials, when demand is high. Ethnic studies as a new and experimental field offers hope of serving as a model for innovations which may be used to improve the study of more traditional academic areas. It will be a major setback to the organized pursuit of knowledge if this promising endeavor becomes plagued, like other areas of education, with petty tyrants and back-room politicians. It seems likely that such problems can be avoided if the program maintains an innovative, experimental, open-minded attitude, and if all participants--administrators, teachers, and students--are encouraged to play an active part in the evolution of policy and curriculum.

It should go without saying that every effort should be made to provide physical accomodations which attest to the university's high evaluation of such a program. A little shack on the other side of the football field, designated as headquarters for the program, will speak volumes concerning the true commitment of the university to the experiment. It may be necessary to make some sacrifices and do some rearranging in order to provide facilities which attest to the school's respect for ethnic studies, but the school which is not willing to make these efforts need not undertake the project at all. A halfhearted attempt is nearly guaranteed to fail.

The full potential of ethnic studies certainly has not begun to be realized in American higher education. Such programs can be viewed as unique, at least not comparable in their function to such areas as German studies or French culture, but rather as special cases for the special case of a society which hoped and claimed to be the fulfillment of the ultimate dream of freedom and equality for every individual, while building that society on a foundation of the most excessively oppressive slavery and on the exploitation of certain groups who were simply never viewed as being part of the American dream. As such, the programs may serve as drastic measures to provide what has been neglected or omitted in education previously, an omission which has contributed greatly to the ugliest and most undemocratic aspects of life in this society. They may also serve as the vital stepping stone to radical reform of all areas of education, in both form and content. At the very least, they can be a helpful tool in making the university a true reflection of all the cultures represented in American society, and thus ease the transition from community to college for many students to whom higher education is an unexpected and alien experience. Thus, they serve, no matter what their scope, as an aid in the democratization of American education.

Chapter VII: Other Curriculum Modifications and Remedial Practices

In the process of designing and operating a program for students whose past academic record has been below that of the average college student, two areas of concern must be kept in mind. The first, and probably most evident, includes the strictly pedagogical problems of educational deprivation. The second is the whole affective area, of importance not only because it has so often been neglected in the student's previous education, but also because it is a promising area for a new attack on the student's learning problems.

By the time a student has reached the college years in his education, his efficiency as a learner may have been impaired by several different kinds of handicaps, each of which is greatly compounded as time goes by with no opportunities to correct it. First, the communications skills which may have served him well in other settings may be relatively inefficient for academic work since the academic community has not yet been able to accommodate and reward the use of other than standard English dialects. Additionally, it is a source of constant concern that far too many children in elementary and secondary schools are not being effectively taught to read and write. Their problem becomes more acute as they are somehow passed from one grade to the next and become less and less able to keep up with what is considered to be grade-level work. The repeated experience of failure, coupled with constant exposure to alien language forms often results in a set of negative attitudes not only toward the formal learning experience, but, more importantly, toward the use of communication skills in formal situations, a clear handicap in higher education. By the time such students arrive at college level, these problems in communication will have resulted in a second handicap, a limited reservoir of information, which may be caused not only by inadequate communication skills, but perhaps also by a less academically relevant set of life experiences, brought about by deprivations born of economic and/or racial status. These information deficiencies, combined with weak information acquisition skills, confront these students and their teachers with formidable problems.

In many cases additional problems among such students will include inefficient work and study habits. They may also have had scant opportunity to develop effective information search and processing skills. Unfortunately, there is little enough in the average child's education which really strengthens his ability to formulate a question and use the proper resources to find the necessary information, efficiently and without being distracted by irrelevancies. Finally, one of the subtlest and most discouraging problems is often the weakness of a student's analytic and synthesizing abilities, especially in areas that are somewhat foreign to him or her. This is more often the case when the subject is abstract or technical, rather than social or political. These problems are serious when confronted in young children who are still in the formation periods. When they are encountered in young adults they are critical and more recalcitrant. Not only do they constitute a complex network of interdependent handicaps, but they come to be surrounded by a variety of compensatory and defensive attitudinal and social behaviors which serve to camouflage and more rigidly entrench.

This attempt to break down the basic pedagogical problems involved in dealing with the educationally disadvantaged may well be far from complete; at least it may give some idea of the complexity of this one aspect of the task of providing an effective educational experience. Whatever efforts may be labeled "remedial" or "compensatory" may well be inadequate to the need if they are not addressed to all these problems which so often combine to complicate learning. The unhappy fact is that we have not found exemplary models or programs which are.

As if the strictly pedagogical problem were not complex enough, it is often necessary, too, to deal with those kinds of personal-social concerns that do not fall precisely in the academic learning area. Although this affective side of learning may do much, when it is attacked positively, to improve performance in the pedagogical area, it is not usually adequate to attack affective problems through traditional pedagogical strategies. Whatever may be going on in the classroom, the student may still be worrying about why he is in college when most of his peers are on the streets, working or unable to find work, and participating in the struggles of the community. He may also be bothered by his failure to contribute to the support of his family, or even by the fact that their assistance with his college expenses is adding to their financial burden. And it may well be that there is little enough in what he is experiencing at the college to maintain his motivation to stay there and to succeed. What is he doing there anyway? Is going to college really as utilitarian as he may once have thought? Does it still seem to be an effective means of getting a piece of the action? Or does it seem to be a viable instrument for advancement, change, or revolution? In many cases, it may be perceived as simply hindering the student from realizing these very goals. These are the kinds of subtle problems which it is very hard to influence effectively within a formal instructional setting, especially when twelve years or more of previous "education" has done little to provide positive answers to such questions.

The institutions surveyed represent the range of solutions colleges and universities have sought for these problems. Most programs have their share of basic "remedial" courses to attack the more glaring of the pedagogical problems. Those who can afford it, often supply facilities for the application of educational technology to the skill problems, with reading and language laboratories, programmed instruction, and specially trained personnel to help utilize the facilities. Usually, the effectiveness of this kind of strategy depends on how well it is organized, how competent and dedicated the teaching staff may be, and the extent to which the instruction offered actually is designed to meet the specific needs of individual students. In general, the compensatory efforts are concentrated in the first two years of college, and may involve an all-remedial first year, a first year which combines remedial work with some regular college work, or some sort of intensive pre-college program.

A look at a few specific programs may give an idea of the variety of efforts being made to date. With the cooperation of the Institute for Services to Education, a number of predominantly black colleges (now fourteen) have formed what is called the Thirteen-College Curriculum Program, a cooperative effort in which teachers from the colleges and consultants from the Institute work on new curriculum ideas, materials, methods, etc. Conferences are held each summer and on selected weekends throughout the year for evaluation and further development in specific areas. On each campus, about 100 students are involved in the program, served by about twelve teachers, a program director, and a counselor. At the time, the efforts of the program are focused on the first two years of college, and the aim is to design curricula which move away from the traditional, more mechanical modes of teaching and learning. The emphasis is on using and encouraging imagination in both teachers and students, and the program produces materials and suggestions for teachers in specific areas. Attention is given to black-related studies, and in general, to ways which make the subject matter interesting and relevant to students. Thus far, it has been noted that the grade point averages for program students taking regular college courses are higher than for regular students in those same courses, indicating that there is some carry-over of the program's success into other areas of college study. Subjective impressions also suggest that the program has succeeded in many instances in making students more enthusiastic learners and more imaginative in the classroom.

The Experiment in Higher Education at Southern Illinois University in a two-year program involves approximately 100 students. Most of them are black and come from East St. Louis, Illinois. With a staff of three lecturers and ten teacher-counselors, the program provides an intensive experience of academic work. Students attend lectures, colloquia, seminars, and academic workshops, and are actually in school for fourteen to eighteen hours a week. Part of the group experience is the opportunity for students to speak out, and to relate the content of their studies to their personal life experiences; in addition, they have opportunities to solve problems or work on projects together, in groups which are encouraged to create a social, as well as an academic, experience.

Technology plays a major part in this program, and all lectures and colloquia are tape recorded and available to students along with teaching machines, other audio equipment, etc. There is a heavy reliance on programmed instruction, especially in language and math. The curriculum approach is an integrated one, combining social sciences and humanities into topic or concept units. Students must perform at the C level or above, or they fail. At the same time, grades are only given at the end of the year, and emphasis is placed on work done after the first adjustment period of six months.

Several predominantly black schools have been noted for their efforts to provide effective educational experiences for disadvantaged students. Morgan State, in Baltimore, has designed a three-curriculum plan for the freshman year, in which students of exceptional ability (approximately the top 10% of the class) are placed in one curriculum and those constituting approximately the lowest half of the class are placed in a special curriculum of their own, leaving the rest of the class in the usual freshman year program. In the "Basic Skills Program," individual counseling and diagnostic testing are extensively used in planning and building reading, writing, and speech skills. There is a reduced credit hour load, but more time is spent in the classroom; the effect of this arrangement is that students in the Basic Skills Program will not be able to graduate in four years unless they attend one or two summer sessions.

The design of the program takes into account the fact that weaknesses among students will vary, and thus, for example, a reading test is given to freshmen, with those scoring below national norms receiving special reading instruction. A reading laboratory is available to all students, as is a programmed instruction facility, which may be used voluntarily or at the recommendation of the instructor. The freshman English course involves use of a reading laboratory, and also emphasizes composition. A writing proficiency exam, consisting of an essay on one of a list of given topics, is required for senior status, and those students who fail the exam spend an additional two hours a week in a special writing clinic. A speech proficiency exam is given near the end of the sophomore year, and again a special clinic is provided for those who cannot meet this requirement.

In the sophomore year, a course in vocabulary development is offered, with classes grouped by major study area for greater relevance. The college also offers a special summer program in language arts for prospective students who want to get a head start in building up the required skills. Another feature of the Morgan State program is its emphasis on organized cultural activities, with drama, music, and lectures receiving emphasis.

The college maintains an Office of Research and Evaluation, and places a heavy emphasis on evaluating both students and program constantly. The office reports that improvement in communications skills within the special program is often dramatic; tests show that the average freshman who comes to Morgan State is in the lowest quartile of freshmen nationally in scholastic aptitude, and two years later performs at a level equal to or better than the national median for sophomores. Graduate Record Examination subject area tests are also given in the second and fourth years, and show an improvement in mean scores over the two year period.

At Shaw University in North Carolina, the Shaw Plan involves an ungraded program of college studies, starting with a pre-college program for some students; a "lower-class" program, during the first two years, which emphasizes basic skills in math, English, reading, and speech; and an "upper-class" program which involves specialization.

Students begin their years at Shaw with a large battery of diagnostic tests, and some are placed in the "pre-baccalaureate" summer program, involving remedial workshops and technological learning aids. The student at Shaw must take thirty courses for graduation, but he may satisfy his requirements in some of these by passing special tests. He may take less than four or more than five years to graduate, although a student in the remedial program for two years must apply for readmission by the faculty. Additional remedial help is available in summer school. Testing is an important aspect of the Shaw program, but tests are not used to supply grades; instead, teachers give each student an individual evaluation, sometimes involving a prescription for use of the "automated training center." The final evaluation for graduation depends on performance on the Graduate Record Examinations; scores for the graduating senior must meet the national average.

The SEEK program at the City University of New York has won widespread reknown as a relatively successful effort to recruit and provide a college education for students from disadvantaged areas of the city who would not normally have qualified for admission to the City University before the open admission plan was put into effect. The SEEK program was started in 1965 at the senior branches of the City University, funded by the state and city. Emphasis was placed on flexibility and student involvement in all aspects of the program. Classes were to be kept small, and teachers were encouraged to become very involved in the goals of the program. Students have been allowed to move at their own pace; not finishing coursework "on time" does not mean failure in the course, but implies a need for more time or different instruction. Compensatory courses are given along with regular courses, and students are encouraged to move at their own pace into regular college work; placement tests (some designed by SEEK teachers and students) are given to determine which students are ready for regular college work in any given area and placements are again evaluated after two weeks to make sure they are suitable. Counselors are available, and are supposed to be responsible for no more than fifty students; students also serve as tutors for others in their classes.

The SEEK program was designed with the intention of being a force for innovation, and students have been involved in almost every aspect of program administration. In connection with this innovative intention, the curriculum has focused on the black and Puerto Rican experience, in courses covering English, reading, social sciences, languages, math, and speech. It is difficult to know what constitutes a measure of success for any of these programs, but it is known that fifty per cent of the first entering SEEK class has graduated from CUNY, excluding those who may have gone on to graduate from other institutions.

An example of an entirely different approach, aimed exclusively at the affective area, is provided by the Human Potential Seminars Program at Kendall College in Evanston, Illinois. The program begins with the establishment of 15-member groups during freshman orientation for a four-hour session aimed at exploring personal development. These initial group sessions are planned to give the students an idea of what is to come if they elect to take the 16-week, non-credit Human Potential Seminar course. The goal of the group approach is to help each student identify his own personal strengths, rather than his weaknesses; the theory is that students' weaknesses have been pointed out to them often enough in their education, and there has been little reinforcement of their positive qualities.

The groups begin by discussing experiences which may have been crucial to each person's development. Each student lists what he considers to be his five main strengths, then he is told by the others what they think his strengths may be, on the basis of the experiences he has related. Other sessions go on to focus on what may be preventing different group members from utilizing their strengths fully toward some goal. At this point, goal-setting becomes a primary part of the course, and each week, goals are set and reported on. In another session, students may build a fantasy about what each can be doing in five or ten years if all his or her strengths are utilized fully. Another important aspect of the program is the identification by each student of personal values, and ranking them to avoid value conflict, which is seen as a frequent hindrance to goal accomplishment. The final phase of the course involves long-range goal setting in accordance with the values each student has chosen.

Participation in the groups is voluntary, and they are all heterogeneous, with some students who have been academically successful and some who have not. The students' own evaluations of the group sessions indicate that they have had some effect. One group of sixty students was surveyed a year after the course, with 57 responding. Of these, 82% reported that they are still setting and meeting goals; 77% said that they now think more highly of themselves, and recognize more personal successes; 94% said they would recommend the course to others.

Within the promising area of technology, an interesting project has been proposed by the City University of New York and the Educational Broadcasting Corporation in New York City. They propose to produce a series of approximately 140 one-hour television programs, utilizing remedial or pre-college materials in the areas of reading, writing, and math. Black, Puerto Rican, and white characters will be shown in dramatized situations of dialect problems, math, problems of communication, writing, and so forth. Supplemental materials will be developed to accompany the programs. The aim of the project will be to increase the academic function of pre-college viewers by two grade levels, using and building skills considered essential for college work. In math, emphasis will be placed on arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and trigonometry. English segments will deal with parts of speech, grammar, organization of writing, vocabulary, and reading analytically and critically. The project would also make provision for cassette playbacks by students on a school's equipment.

These are brief descriptions of some of the ways in which the problem of different academic preparation is being attacked today. Several of the case studies offered in the appendix of this report deal with curriculum at other schools. Of course, it is always difficult to make the determination of whether a particular program has been successful or not. The first question is what constitutes success, and this may have a different answer for every evaluator or institution. But it is probably safe to say that no one curriculum innovation, insofar as these kinds of programs can be called innovative, has met with wide and dramatic success. This is probably natural, for if there is one thing we should have learned by now, it is that there is no one answer to the learning problems of hundreds of different individuals. What is urgently needed is far more research and experimentation in the development of means for qualitative analysis of functioning, and innovative ways of targeting specialized instruction around what are analyzed as being a student's specific deficits and strengths. In this area, some computer learning programs are now being developed in which the machine interacts with the learner, programming further questions in response to previous answers. Also relevant to this area is the independent study center, where students can seek individualized help on a voluntary basis. Such centers are often available to all students on campus, and it is clear that particularly advanced students may seek special instruction to meet their needs there, too. There will be no stigma attached if a student in academic trouble turns to the center as well.

It is difficult to devise ways of dealing with all the possible aspects of a student's learning inefficiency simultaneously. The problem of inadequacy of knowledge pool may seem impossible to attack until the student's reading skill has been dramatically improved. But it should be possible to make available pools of information which do not require reading, and which may enable the student to go on into regular college work, which he may find more challenging, at the same time as he is engaged in improving his basic skills. There should be in existence now films, tapes, etc. which could be as effective as books as sources of information on a given subject, and certainly there are infinite possibilities of adding to these. It would be particularly helpful if specialized "bibliographies" of such material, suitable for college-level use, could be made available. Some existing resources could also be adapted to college level use. For example, the old CBS radio series, You Are There, recently revived as a children's television program, could be done on a slightly more sophisticated level and become an excellent supplemental history source for college students. Columbia University has developed a special television series on black history. A National Science Foundation biology film series put together by Professor Vishniac, formerly at Yeshiva University, could easily be dubbed at the appropriate level and used in science courses. Undoubtedly many other sources are already in existence, which would require a minimum of modification to make them suitable sources of information for inefficient readers.

At the same time as the search goes on for more effective remedial techniques and instruments, it is also important to consider techniques of placement for special students. Of course, it should be an elementary concern that no student, just because he is admitted under a special program for "disadvantaged" students, should be placed in a remedial course when he can be doing more advanced work. It may be a danger in many programs that, out of concern to avoid placing too great a burden on students initially, all challenge is removed from their first college experience. To avoid this the placement process should be as flexible as possible, and there should be provision for follow-up on every student to ensure that his initial placement proves to be the most effective one. It may also be a good idea to provide an early opportunity for the student to make his own determination of the work he can do, even if his own estimate differs from that of his counselor or program director. It should be possible to build into a program the opportunity for students to take this kind of chance and even to fail without setting them back very far, for they may be far better able to discover their own limits than are other college personnel, with all their instruments of prediction.

Many institutions have reported particular success with some form of pre-college program, and the academic gains to be made from such a program may well be combined with the advantages of a longer period for orientation to all aspects of college life. A summer academic program may provide opportunities for more individualized attention, in a calmer context than the regular semester, amid all the distractions of campus life. Even if there is not opportunity for a full academic program, the orientation program itself can probably be made much more significant on most campuses, and care should be taken to see that it deals realistically with the problems likely to be encountered by students who come from backgrounds which may not have prepared them very effectively for college life.

The affective area, as we have noted, remains a particularly difficult one, yet it becomes increasingly obvious that it is also particularly promising as a direction for efforts to increase what students can get from college. This may be, too, one area in which the college can learn from the students, for those things which trouble the student about the institution may indeed be areas in which the institution, by changing itself, can make itself more effective for all students. The student who lacks motivation to succeed in the classroom because he doubts that this kind of achievement will be relevant to his success in his community may be right, to a certain extent, and a way of attacking this kind of problem is for the college to look at ways in which it may make community-based action part of the educational experience. Until this kind of approach is really tried on a large scale, it cannot be known how effective it can really be, but certainly it seems likely that this could be one of the most revolutionary and effective educational strategies, providing a real opportunity for learning technical skills in an action context.

It is just possible that all the technological innovations in teaching strategies, for all their pedagogical sophistication, may only serve to remove the college classroom (or learning laboratory) just that much further away from what the students consider to be the "real world." Surely any college, no matter how lavish its teaching equipment and facilities, can make the most radical improvement in all its students' education by constantly seeking ways in which the college curriculum can become inextricably involved with a real life curriculum, ways in which the students cannot help seeing that their lives and their education are inseparable. That fact is that in some ways at some colleges, this is simply not the case, and education could certainly benefit from an ongoing self examination in this area.

In addition, another basic requirement for good education. which may tend to get lost in the flash and glitter of expensive hardware, is good teaching -- inspired and inspiring interaction between teacher and learner which cannot be replaced by any technology. At more than one college, officials have remarked that this factor still remains the most important one in the success or failure of a program. Of course, there is no one teaching strategy guaranteed to be inspiring for all teachers and all students, but the institution can begin by recognizing this, and by allowing for flexibility in teaching methods, as well as making it very clear -- and it is well known that on many campuses it is not clear -- that good teaching is the most valued product of instructors and professors.

Chapter VIII: Reactions of Students and College Personnel

In an attempt to validate questionnaire data and to get direct feedback from student and staff participants in special programs, a series of on-campus interviews was conducted. Additionally, a random selection of students was paid to write narratives describing their secondary school experience as well as their reaction to the collegiate program in which they were participating. It is significant that students consistently focused attention on the non-intellectual aspects of their collegiate experience. They are apparently concerned with and affected by the social environment, political atmosphere, attitudes of other students, finances, and the motivation and level of institutional commitment. It took specific prodding to elicit reactions to particular compensatory practices of the program.

No attempt has been made to summarize the narrative material or to single out the principal themes; rather, the material is presented in a verbatim manner, grouped according to institution. Comments which were extraneous to the discussion have been edited out. It is interesting to note the differing perceptions among students and between students and college personnel within the same program.

A more general picture of minority group student perceptions of life in a predominantly white university is presented by Sedlacek, Brooks and Herman in Black Student Attitudes Toward a Predominantly White University. (1971). Responding black students at the University of Maryland indicated that they did not feel they had a voice in policy making, nor that they had adequate means to express their grievances. In general, the black students surveyed seemed to indicate an ambivalence toward education in a predominantly white school which was echoed, in even stronger terms, by our respondents.

COLLEGE A

(Student Participant)

"Since my high school was in such a superior academic position when compared to 'regular' schools - 99.5% of its graduating class attend college ... I applied to six colleges. There was nothing about these schools that especially attracted me. It was common knowledge that they all wanted to increase their black student enrollments .... I chose College A because its financial award did not include a loan and a job like the other college offers .... I was glad to find a Students' Afro-American Society on Campus. In most cases a black student at a school with a black population of less than 4% does find life a little less difficult due to the existence of black student organizations. No black studies courses were offered during my freshman year, so I didn't study anything that was of any relevance to black people. College A's social events were basically of no interest to SAS, but we as a group created our own social atmosphere .... As a result of some demands that we presented to the administration last spring, we were able to open an Urban Center for black studies in the black community of the college town. We realized that we were losing our ties and abilities to relate to our own communities by spending so much time at a white college. One advantage of our location in town is that it enables us to interact with other black people besides students, and consequently not get whitewashed on campus.

"We also demanded black housing and as a result of that demand twenty-two of us were allowed to live together in our Afro-American Cultural Center. The house isn't exclusively black, but at this time we occupy more than half of it.... All of us have had disgusting experiences living with white girls in dormitories and we are happier in our present situation .... In many cases we have been fooled into thinking the college would stick to their words and honor our demands. We have found that signatures, verbal agreements or any of their promises are of no value whatsoever. Contracts have been broken and there have been obvious breaches of faith. I now realize that it was foolish of us to ever think that College A would ever keep the interests of black students at heart .... Many black students, including myself, are now questioning the relevance of our attending College A. Can College A really prepare us to do anything that will benefit black people? Of course, not ... We're all still unhappy at College A."

(Student Participant)

"My family and guidance counselor were quite sure that as an Arista member, a National Achievement Scholar and 29th in a class of 600, I would get into College A.... I appeared to be warmly received by College A; all the welcomes had smiling faces and the other freshmen were quite friendly .... I became 'close' friends with a few white girls in my dorm, and I began to assimilate into the whole thing. I even went to mixers which obviously weren't meant for me (obvious to everyone but myself). There was a definite lack of black males at these mixers and so I'd stand on the side and observe; yet, I went to mixer after mixer, week after week, expecting I don't know what. I remained this 'typical College A Negro' for about a semester, then things began to wear off. I got tired of going to mixers, I got tired of being 'the Negro' who was their guineapig (by the way, the administration of this institution has already told us that we are here to serve as an 'educational experience' for the white students.) I grew weary of being around people who were blind to so many things which were crucial to me. So, I began to make myself scarce at College A social events and associated almost exclusively with blacks.

"Academically, my freshman year was the best I've ever had. My average then was almost B, and it's been steadily declining through the years. This might be due to my increasing awareness of the fact that education isn't gained through books and lectures, but through experience. Thus, my respect for the rigid course structure found at College A has decreased, and my attempt to gain practical experience has increased.

"A college education as it is today does not prepare a black student who plans to return to the black community and offer anything of significance. A good black studies program would help offset the white-washing which a black person is subjected to in an educational institution .,.. We now have an Urban Center for Black Studies where we and members of the town's black community study under our black studies program. In this way, we manage to remain close to a black community rather than grow apart from black people as is so often the case in attending a white college. Our black studies program has allowed us to achieve and maintain political awareness while in a white institution. However, we realize that black studies programs and special academic programs for blacks at white institutions will not answer our educational problems."

(Vice-President, College A)

"We had a lady who was director of admissions who was just out of it. We had very few black students, like a dozen or nine in the senior class and maybe six in the junior class. A directive came from the trustees to do something .... I think we now have 59 black students on campus. Our total enrollment is 1600 students .... You can take a major in black studies now, where you couldn't before. Students are also doing community work for which they can get credit. The black studies major is experimental. Faculty vote for it was unanimous except for one.

"The black studies major grew out of a student protest .... We did not agree to a separate black house. We have a house where 25 black students make up the total second floor. Next year we may have another separate cluster of students. But it won't be an all black house.

"There is a general problem of adjustment -- ghetto kids coming into middle class setting. We feel that that's where they need the help. We are also recruiting black professors -- lowering the standards for black faculty so that we can get more of them. Mr. X, for example, had been a public school assistant principal with a Masters Degree in secondary education. If he were white he would have no chance of being an assistant professor of sociology."

(Interviewer's Report of Group Interview with Student Participants)

The students reported having particular difficulty in English. They complained of the lack of specific instruction in the area of grammar -- the professors have assumed that they have an adequate background in this area. Another problem in English is the absence of relevant reading materials, literature dealing with the black experience .... Much of the difficulty in English, and other subjects, is due to the inadequate preparation received in high school. Most of the girls went to large urban high schools with large numbers of black students, and although they were all ranked high in their graduating classes, they felt that the school had not given them much of what they needed at College A.

The girls said that they don't use the college's advising system except to get their programs approved. They said that the advisors, faculty members or administrators, show little interest in and ability to cope with the girls' problems at school. In an effort to deal with this, the school has hired a part-time advisor, a black senior, to counsel the girls. Also, in connection with academic life, the girls do not use the college's tutoring system. They say that the tutors, college seniors, may be proficient in their subjects, but are not capable of teaching it, or relating to them.

Social life and housing arrangements were recurring themes. The girls resented being scattered in different dorms across the campus. They detested the notion that they were to be the white girls' "black experience!" One student said that she felt like listening to music almost all of the time, especially in the evening, and there were always objections from the white girls in the dorm who wanted silence .... Living on the black corridor this semester has made a difference in that it has pulled the girls, as a group, closer together .... Students also reported an absence of culturally relevant social activities on campus. They requested that the college finance such cultural events as "black weekends", and that the school hire a bus to transport the girls to other campuses and nearby cities. While the administration has responded favorably to these requests, the students believe that because the school has taken no initiative in establishing a sound place for black students but has only 'responded' to student complaints, the school's genuine concern and commitment is too shallow.

(Interviewer's Report of Interview with Director
of Admissions)

Mr. X pointed out that no official statement has emanated from the Board of Trustees or other college officials regarding the college's role in the education of minority group students .... He noted that nearly all of the black students enrolled at College A were self-referrals. Moreover, no efforts have been made to recruit black youth from nearby communities .... This is not so much a reflection of a racist attitude, as of the fact that the college has been too busy concerning itself with the expansion of physical facilities, curriculum innovations, fund raising, and the development of College A as a coeducational institution, to expend very much energy in racial minority affairs, Mr. X contended. With regard to the future, he admitted that he was pessimistic about the possibility of expanding in a significant way the program for black students. He felt that fear of withdrawal of badly needed financial support from the alumni is the principal reason for this posture. He indicated that it was his impression that the alumni would interpret further expansion or development of the program for blacks as a sign of "giving in" to black demands. Moreover, he suggested that the alumni feared that the quality of education and the reputation of College A would diminish if large numbers of black students were admitted.

COLLEGE B

(Student Participant)

"Before my freshman year, there was a total of about sixty black students on the whole campus. The program which was recruiting black students recruited one hundred and twenty-five in my class which made this the largest number of black students ever on this campus. My freshman year was spent trying to adjust to the over-all college life such as grades, exams, politics, and government of the university. I knew that my main purpose there was to get an education, but the majority of my freshman year was spent trying to educate the white students about me and the souls of black folk. There were still problems, however, For example, a certain fraternity which had spend the night drinking, decided to 'get rid of all the niggers on campus.' There was a confrontation and from that day on there has been strained student relations on campus. Because of the small number of black students on campus, we had to walk five and six together at night if we were to get across campus. In my first two years, we have had a total of six black-white confrontations.

"Now about the program -- as all programs begin, they have a few rough edges that have to be smoothed out. This comes in time. I enjoy the program, but it has two drawbacks as far as I am concerned, one being that the campus is too far from the nearest city, that being a distance of 28 miles, secondly, those who understand the politics of the program realize that the university is not really doing us a favor out of the goodness of their heart, but indeed we are doing them a favor by being here, since all state schools must maintain a quota of minority group students to get federal funds ... If we weren't here, the construction of a twenty-two story library being built would stop."

(Student Participant)

"Upon entering the university, I was leery of my grades, but they turned out fairly decent. When I was in my freshman year, I could not tell head from toe, I was so confused. At the university, I am on a scholarship for black students. At first I received some uneasy looks and remarks from some students here but I finally straightened them out. Also, on this scholarship I receive a lot of grief on behalf of my father's being disabled and my mother being deceased -- the problem is that the university doesn't seem to believe me. At any rate, I do not feel that this program has influenced my grades, study habits or academic skills. I feel that this is something within myself .... There has been no conflict with academics and political activities on campus with me because most of it belongs to the whites and it does not apply to me."

(Student Participant)

"Most of my difficulties were social-racial and not academic. I remember the time our book charge cards were held up for three days -- for what reason, no one seemed to know -- so for three days, we had no books for class. Then we went to buy our books, all the 'special' students had to go through one line, while the other (white) students who charged books and supplies went through another line. It took us only a few days to get wind of what was happening and we nicely closed down the 'special' line and told them people just where it was at .... But what had to be the shock of my life was when I was in my race relations class and this white farm-looking dude told us that he had never seen so many blacks before. And, dig this, there were only a handful of us on campus then. So we were facing some pretty backward people.

"During my freshman year, I was very active in our Afro-American Society. It was what kept many brothers and sisters in contact with each other. There was no social life whatsoever outside of the few dances Afro-Am. threw. I know of several students who just left College B because of sheer boredom. But at the present time, an attempt is being made by five colleges in the area to form a five-college organization to get brothers and sisters together. I must say, however, that it is not structurally organized, but many students look forward and have faith in its development.

"As far as the special program is concerned, the tutorial service is really the heart of the program. During the first year of the program, tutoring was mandatory and we students received a grade and two credits for attending tutoring regularly. After the freshman year, it is at the student's option whether he wants to attend tutoring or not. This has been a helpful aspect of the program.... Recently, a counseling component has been initiated into the program. It is staffed by graduate and some undergraduate students. Their aim is to be available so that students with problems can get them taken care of before the problem escalates into a crisis situation .... I think that I am very lucky to be part of this special program and a student at College B. I always speak highly of the program because it offers blacks the chance to further our potentials. My wife and I will never forget those unselfish people who gave up their time to help us get into and succeed in college."

(Student Participant)

"After graduating from high school, I had planned to attend a junior college and take up a technical course. I was accepted there but my guidance counselor mentioned the fact that there was a special program for black students at College B, and I decided to try and get into it. During the first year of the program, 120 black students were brought to the campus mostly through the efforts of a group of black faculty. The money for the program was allocated by the Ford Foundation and the state. We were given tutorial and financial assistance. The majority of us were not allowed to take the maximum number of credits. We were looked at by the majority of white students as special students who were being pampered and spoon-fed. Some of the black students felt the same way. There were 110 of us who survived the first year of the program.... Now we are finishing the second year. The program is still similar to last year except that tutors are now hired from specific departments and a counseling component has been added .... I feel that the program is all right, but there are a few areas in which there must be changes made. A few of these are: requirements for entry, upperclassman black students be trained to counsel us, changes in tutorial system, and tighten up on students who are here and let them learn to help themselves become responsible people."

COLLEGE C

(Student Participant)

"After attending Collete C for one year under the special program, I have found some faculty members sympathetic, but I haven't found any that were hostile. Most of the faculty members that I have encountered seemed to be confused about what is taking place in this country, like demonstrations, riots, etc. They come running up to me and other students like myself asking what is wrong. As far as the other students are concerned, I haven't run into any hassle, though there have been reports of other students feeling hostile towards students like myself because we are going free and they are paying .... Some of the regular students possessed superiority complexes toward us. They felt that they were more intelligent because they were admitted through normal channels.

"Though College C has started this program, from my observations, I believe that they really don't care about having it. When our director tries to get funds for the operation of the program, there is always a hassle and a lot of red tape to go through. Another thing which seemed deceiving was the fact that the students in the program were told that they would get money during the first year. Those that did, got about half of what you really needed.

"Now that I have completed my first year in college, I discovered that college is actually easier than high school. A good example is that in high school when a student turned in a homework assignment late, the teacher would take a few points off the grade. Then there was the ridiculous dress code in high school. Also, if a student came late to class he would be sent to the office. But in college it is completely different. A student may have one class one day, five classes another day, and maybe no classes the next day. There are no points taken off of a grade if an assignment is late .... The good thing about college is that a student's academic performance is left up to him. It's like a now-or-never type of situation. Nobody really cares. This lack of caring will either make a student stand up to the academic challenge or it will cause him to flunk out .... The greatest weakness for a program like this is the student who comes just to say I went .... The students are the ones who give strength to the program and cause it to be successful."

(Student Participant)

"I had originally applied and was accepted by the local community college. During the summer, I worked and saved enough money for my books for both semesters.

I was also trying to save some money for my tuition, and a little spending money. Then, in the beginning of August, I was talking to a friend of mine who told me about this program at College C. It sounded interesting so I looked into it. Actually, I probably would never have known about the program unless I had talked to this friend -- as nothing was ever said about it in high school.

"When I arrived at college in September, I went through the same rules and regulations as the other students. Some of the people at College C that I met were unfriendly and others acted as though they knew you all their lives. The administration and professors under the program are the greatest people you would ever want to know. There was only one person who was the most naive person in the program, and that is the woman who directs the program. She never seemed interested in how the individual was doing, until there was some pressure being put on her. When the time came for a student to choose courses for the next semester, she did not want to be bothered with you. Sometimes, after you have registered she will look at the schedule and suggest dropping some courses. She feels as though they will be too much for you. I do not think she should be the judge about it. After all, a student just might be interested in the course.

"Whenever someone came to interview us we were told to tell the good things about the program, so it can continue next year. That's the trouble with the program, the truth is never told. They want the students to cover up for their lies. I guess you can see that I am thoroughly disgusted. I have been promised money since September and have not received it yet.... A program like this would help a number of students who wanted to go to college, but I think they accepted the wrong type of kids from high school. What I mean is, a lot of the students had either a general or agricultural course in high school. Many of them were not even interested in going to college. What the program should have done, was to help minority group students who had a college course in high school and who wanted to go to college, but did not have the money. The reason I say this is I saw a lot of students taking advantage of the administration and the program. The attendance in the classes was poor. There was only a handful of students who went to class every day and took part in the activities. Once some of the money was given out to some of the students, they never came to class or around the office. The trouble was that these students were never interested in going to college.

"I was really pleased with my grades. Whenever I needed help or anyone else did, there was always a professor willing to help you. I never thought that I could receive such grades as I did.

"Eventually, I think the program will turn out superb if they choose the right kind of students. When a program first starts out there always will be some errors."

(Report of Group Interview with Student Participants)

Students indicated that they were never certain about how much financial aid they would receive. Several said that $200.00 per semester was not adequate to cover lunches, transportation, and personal expenses. In the area of social-political life, the consensus was that the regular students were unfriendly and "cliquish". Students in the program tended to stay together and plan their own activities. They also felt that the white students maintained control of the political life on campus -- that the student organizations and activities were run by and for the regular students. The special program students started their own black newspaper in an effort to stay together and in communication with each other.

In terms of evaluating the program, the students agreed that the interest and dedication of individual professors really made the difference. They felt the advisement for course selection and program planning was inadequately attended to and that the administration was really not behind the program. The students that were making it through college were doing so because of themselves and the help of faculty members. There was also a sense that these particular students were not surprised or disappointed by the negative aspects of the program. Some indicated that they expected it to be this way, others attributed it to the newness of the program, and still others felt that you can't change people and systems overnight. They encouraged the continuation of the program, but called upon incoming students to be prepared to deal with the system and fend for themselves.

Chapter IX: Case Studies

DAWSON COLLEGE

Dawson College is a small, predominantly black college located on the edge of a southern industrial city. Largely church-supported, it was founded shortly after the turn of the century. It now has an enrollment of slightly over a thousand, of whom about a third live in new dormitory accommodations on campus. Most of the remaining students commute from their homes in the nearby black community. Although perhaps the majority of the students commute from their own homes, where they live with their families, the college does attract a number of students from distant parts of the country and even a few from as far away as Africa.

Industrial City, where the college is located, does have a thriving heavy industry area, and many of the students come from the families of workers in these factories, and hence from settled, peaceful neighborhoods whose carefully kept, tree-shaded homes do not fit the stereotype of urban poverty, despite the low incomes of most of their residents. Public schools in these neighborhoods have been, until recently, almost exclusively black, and members of the community have often been involved in efforts to insure quality education, though always hampered by the small expenditures allotted to public education by the southern state in which they live.

Another substantial portion of the student body at Dawson comes from the remote rural areas of the state, where severe poverty and minimal education are the rule. Because Dawson maintains an open-door policy, all students with high school diplomas are accepted, and the freshman class each year contains students from these very different backgrounds as well as those from northern and western areas whose educational preparation may be of still a different quality.

For these reasons, the college has attempted to design several programs for incoming freshmen which can meet the varying needs of the very heterogeneous student body. For students who are not considered ready for college level work because of one or more academic skills deficiencies, there is the one-year College Educational Achievement Program (CEAP), which functions for many as a kind of fifth year of high school, an opportunity to firm up basic skills which will be needed for further study. The program admits about 100 students annually, chosen from among those in the already admitted freshman class who have a C average or lower on the high school transcript. From those incoming students who are in this category, selection is made on the basis of recommendations from three people, usually high school counselors, principals, or assistant principals, and of an autobiographical statement supplied by the student. Some students come to CEAP through programs such as Upward Bound, Talent Search, or Youth Corps; some come through the efforts of the college recruiter.

The program has a special counseling component to deal with the kinds of non-academic problems which have, in many cases, hindered students' academic progress in high school. In addition, many "cultural enrichment" activities are available, with tickets and transportation provided through the program. The enrichment program operates on a flexible, choice basis, with students being supplied a list of many available activities in the Industrial City area and given a chance to select ten of these during the year. Choices may include visits to other schools and industrial sites, plays, films, concerts, and museums, with variety ranging from popular plays or soul music to symphony concerts and ballet.

The academic work of the program amounts to about fourteen hours a week, with a scheduled counseling session. The focus is on math and basic English skills. These are broken down into areas of reading, writing, speaking and listening, and "reaction ideas," in which students have the opportunity to develop orally their ideas and reactions to assigned readings. Students are served by a staff consisting of the project coordinator, four English teachers, one math teacher, three aides, a male and a female counselor, and varying numbers of tutors, who are Dawson students on work-study programs.

The student who successfully completes the CEAP program and goes on to study at Dawson as a regular freshman is now given two semester credits for his CEAP work, a change from previous policy of giving no credit for the extra year. In addition, students who do exceptionally well in the CEAP program may be moved into regular freshman work before their year is finished.

Thus far, financial aid offered to the students has been as comprehensive as the individual's minimum needs. In some cases, the package may be sufficient to cover every expense except spending money. Commuting students may be given, in addition to tuition aid, transportation cash and meal tickets to be redeemed at the student dining room. Many students are supplied with books and other study materials. Funds may come from loans or Office of Education grants; students are not allowed to participate in work-study until they have completed the program.

Retention figures for the program are not exact, but give a general idea of its success. Out of fifty participants in the program in 1967-68, twenty-five are now seniors at the college. The 1968-69 program had about one hundred members, of whom thirty-two are now in regular classes. Forty-one of the ninety-four 1969-70 CEAP students are now regular freshmen. No information is yet available regarding what may have happened to those students no longer at Dawson. As some may have gone on to school elsewhere, it cannot be assumed that all have dropped out of higher education. The dropout rate from the program itself is relatively small. Enrollment in the 1969-70 program fell from 107 to 94.

The program's director, a math instructor and alumna of a sister college of Dawson, is optimistic about the future of the school's remedial efforts, even though the program is due to be officially phased out as its funding comes to an end. She feels the money can be found elsewhere as the program proves itself to be useful and successful. She considers the counseling component to be the most successful aspect of the program, due to the skill of the individual counselors, and to the effectiveness of the group sessions. A staff psychologist or a clinical psychiatrist, she feels, would be a valuable addition. Other benefits include a useful and inexpensive health insurance program, and other inexpensive medical care arrangements with a nearby university medical school.

As the CEAP program is phased out, more attention is being focused on a newly established program, supported by a federal grant, called STEEP, or Services To Enhance Educational Potential. The program is designed to concentrate supportive services and individualized attention on students considered to have high potential, but whose backgrounds indicate that they may be handicapped in attempting to function in a traditional academic experience. Unlike the CEAP students, participants in the STEEP program are not necessarily chosen on the basis of poor previous performance in school. The approximately one hundred students entering the program this year represent a reasonable cross-section of the whole freshman class. Some are local students; some come from as far away as Chicago or New York. Most receive some form of financial aid, and every attempt is made to remove the need for students to work at the same time as they are enrolled in STEEP.

Students remain in the STEEP program for their four years at the college, although special services are concentrated during the first year, when special staff teach courses offered only to STEEP students. These include English, reading, and math, the basic courses offered to all Dawson freshmen, but tailored to the needs of the STEEP students. In addition, students are required to participate in regular group counseling sessions. Counseling and tutoring services continue to be available to students throughout their stay at the college; the emphasis of the program is on counseling. Program staff consists of a director, two counselors, one reading instructor, two English instructors, one mathematics instructor, and a secretary, as well as approximately twenty tutors and ten teaching assistants.

Regardless of the degree of success or failure of CEAP and STEEP, the college is still left to face the problems of the 300 or more entering freshmen for whom there is no room in special programs. The open-door policy results in a formidable variety of academic and social skills and deficiencies among incoming students, and the first year can become a period of weeding out, with the "superior" students often years ahead of the slower ones in academic achievement. Last year approximately 17% of the class dropped out between freshman and sophomore years.
In order to redeem this year, and to prevent it from becoming a wasted term for most of the students, a special department for freshman studies was created in the fall of 1967. Special English, social studies, natural sciences, and math courses are available to all freshmen and are required for graduation. Many of these courses are taught by faculty who teach freshman sections only, and classes are kept as small as possible, especially in English and social studies. These courses are taught in sections only; lecture courses are confined to upperclass subjects.

Freshman courses do have a strong emphasis on black awareness, for the feeling among faculty is that most of the students who come from the state have been given little opportunity to develop a positive identity. Few, if any, public schools in the state offer black history courses, and many students come from areas in which poverty, lack of education, and political and social oppression have functioned as effective hindrances to efforts at ethnic solidarity. Freshman English courses, therefore, may begin with books such as *Manchild in the Promised Land*, or *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, emphasize poets such as Gwendolyn Brooks, and advance to such a difficult exercise in literary interpretation as *Invisible Man*. Not only does such reading serve to enhance self pride and ethnic identity, but it is simply more *interesting* to many students. One of the important benefits of the latitude given individual instructors in the English program is that they may choose to leave much of the direction of the course up to their students. If a section wishes to study Faulkner or Hemingway instead of Claude Brown or Ralph Ellison, in many cases they may do so. Another factor involved is the heterogeneous composition of the sections. Although students are loosely divided into three large categories according to their academic records and achievement tests, each group, and therefore each section of the freshman courses, includes a wide range of interests and abilities. Sections may move at very different rates and in different directions according to the needs of each group. For the most part, little emphasis is placed on testing, for the feeling is that currently available standardized tests indicate very little significant information.

Social science sections have the same emphasis on black awareness. The general outline of the course calls for the study of black history in the fall, and a survey of areas such as psychology, sociology, economics, and political science during the spring semester. Again, the method and the subject matter may vary. One instructor begins the fall with a survey of the ancient African empires, while another starts with the famous efforts of Martin Luther King in the area, efforts in which many students or their relatives were involved, and traces the struggle of black people back from that point. Still others have involved their students in social action programs in the neighboring black communities. In the spring, teachers may put more or less emphasis on black orientation as they talk about traditional social sciences. Past sociological appraisals of American black culture, or works of specialized psychology such as Black Rage, may serve as the starting points for examination of the basics of these disciplines.

Students are required to take a semester course in traditional college math, and those who score at 9.5 or below on the California Achievement Test are given first a remedial semester or are offered the option of taking a special basic skills course during the summer, before going on to the regular freshman math. The required year of natural science is not necessarily to be taken by a student during his freshman year, but is usually taken at some time during the first two years. This course is divided into life science and physical science, and the college prides itself on its strong science department, housed in a brand new facility which was built after vigorous fund raising efforts for the purpose. Instructors in the basic science courses have tried very hard to find the most effective text material for students who may have had only minimal science instruction before, or who may still have reading handicaps which make most college science textbooks extremely difficult for them. The life science classes have been doing well with a book designed for nursing students, and instructors try to make the course material as relevant as possible, presenting material in an ecological framework and tying in as much as possible with contemporary problems which concern the students.

There are other assets and innovations available to the students. The college library is not large, but it is growing, and it houses one of the most complete collections of Afro-American materials in the state, drawing many scholars from the area to do research they cannot do elsewhere. The school has recently been able to purchase equipment for closed-circuit television, which can be used for class presentations as well as many other purposes. The possibilities this area offers for innovation and inspiration of students who have been raised under the powerful influence of that medium are many.

The freshman program at Dawson on the whole seems well designed to meet the needs of the college. Unlike many special programs for non-traditional students, it does not depend heavily on large sums of specially allocated money for its existence, and money is one thing that Dawson cannot supply in great amounts. The one way in which the program is especially costly is its emphasis on small sections, and therefore on a larger faculty than might ordinarily be supplied. The degree of faculty communication and cooperation is high, and the open sharing of ideas cannot fail to benefit the students. One instructor observed that the effort at cooperation between English and social sciences instructors could have been better, but some effort was made, and that is helpful. The enthusiastic response of students has been especially gratifying according to the program's director. There are not as yet any detailed statistical analyses of the program's effect, but it has been noted that, among the freshmen entering in the fall of 1968, the retention rate for the bottom half of the class (as determined by achievement test scores) was the same as that for the top half.

There are, of course, many problems, for a school like Dawson has many strikes against it at the start. It is small, it is predominantly black, and it is supported primarily by a black religious organization. Its initial sources of financial support, therefore, are likely to be few. Money, of course, is no panacea, but its scarcity at Dawson is felt in many ways. The school was without accreditation for many years until 1969, largely because its poverty left it unable to attract enough faculty with advanced degrees or to provide the kind of physical accommodations expected for accreditation. Even with plush facilities and Ivy League-style faculty, the school would still have to deal with the problems of students who can barely afford transportation to the campus, much less tuition and textbooks. Almost 90 percent of the students receive some form of financial aid; very few of them find what they do receive to be sufficient. There is no way of really knowing how many of the students who are lost are discouraged by financial problems which the school cannot help. Special scholarship funds are scarce; most assistance has to come from loans or Educational Opportunity Grants, government-funded sources which are drying up in the current domestic financial squeeze. Dawson seems to inspire a strong loyalty in its alumni; many return as teachers, and it does draw a surprising amount of financial support from local alumni units. Still, it is no longer possible for a school like Dawson to exist on charitable contributions from alumni.

Students have other complaints, although few seem so bitterly discontented with the school that they can find nothing to praise about it. A common observation is the lack of extra-curricular activities on the campus. This problem, too, of course, can be linked to the shortage of money. On weekends, the campus virtually shuts down, and resident students are handicapped by the very poor public transportation service to the school. Bus service simply stops altogether very early every evening, and for most of the weekend is available only every two hours. Even the Student Union Building is closed, and the library is open only part of the weekend.

The school also lacks funds to hire well-trained reading specialists to deal with the most prevalent academic deficiency of students. As much individual attention as possible is given to students with these kinds of problems, but it cannot be known whether a well-supplied and staffed reading program would greatly improve the situation. Similarly, although many staff members believe in the importance of counseling for students such as those at Dawson, few counselors are available, and the counseling program cannot be given the emphasis it needs.

There is some dissatisfaction among both students and faculty with the student social situation. Several teachers and students observe that the different groups or cliques remain very isolated on campus: fraternity and sorority members, athletes, political activists, dormitory students, and commuters do not enjoy the interaction that might make for a more active social life and more cooperation in academic ways. Many feel that the athletic program receives too strong an emphasis, and that athletes are given more social prominence than they deserve in terms of their other accomplishments. Dawson in the past has fallen into the trap of de-emphasizing academic work for athletes in favor of success in competition, and exploitation of freshman athletes has been particularly damaging to these young men. There are many freshmen on varsity teams, and they are depended on far too heavily in competition. There does seem to be growing pressure to change this situation, however.

Some of the problems that teachers observe in the classroom stem more from attitudes than from academic preparation. Those instructors who try to run their classes on a democratic basis often find their students bewildered by the responsibility placed on them; too many of them are products of the extremely authoritarian atmosphere of the traditional public school classroom. Other teachers report that they are often discouraged by the low expectations of their students. Even those who do very well in college fail to aspire to graduate school or a profession. There is some evidence of an improvement in this situation, as more and more students each year do dare to apply to graduate schools all over the country.

Students' comments do much to reveal the wide variety in the student body. For some, fraternity and sorority life is a highly rewarding experience, while others perceive the values of this group as too superficial. Some students report that their studies at Dawson gave them a sense of themselves and their racial identity for the first time in their lives, while others resist what they feel is too great a pressure to conform growing out of the emphasis on blackness. Many of the students are older, some military veterans and some having worked for some years after high school. They are attracted to Dawson because it does offer small classes and special assistance; many of these are in the STEEP program. Many of them may suffer from a sense of isolation when they feel that they have little in common with the younger students.

As at any college, political problems do arise as faculty and staff disagree among themselves about teaching philosophies and goals. The more conservative or traditional faculty members at Dawson tend to oppose those aspects of the new programs which they see as focusing more on current political and social problems of black people at the expense of traditional academic skills and subject matter. The degree of autonomy to be given to the freshman studies division is, of course, also a difficult question, with the humanities and social science divisions of the college feeling that they should concern themselves to some extent with the teaching and subject matter of the freshman courses. The problems are difficult because they concern such essential issues, which lie right at the heart of the faculty's educational philosophy. In many minds on both sides of the question, the problem seems to be simply defined as black awareness *versus* basic skills; there needs to be a wider understanding of the fact that it is quite possible for a Dawson education to cultivate both. How effectiveness in each of these areas is to be measured is another thorny problem, which will require flexibility and experimentation, as well as great concern that the students should not suffer in the process of devising methods for accurate evaluations.

The issue of black identity and the role it is to play in education is one of the major aspects of what is happening at Dawson College today. In some way or another, it concerns nearly every student and faculty member on campus, and is, of course, defined in as many ways as there are people to be concerned about it. Perhaps the one other most vital concern of Dawson's program is the development of a system of higher education which is tailored to the college's heterogeneous student body. While these issues may represent the thorniest problems to be faced by the Dawson staff, they also have the potential to make Dawson a unique contributor to higher education in the country.

The black identity issue, along with all the difficulties involved in trying to define and utilize cultural identity and pride, finds an ideal laboratory in the predominantly black college. In this sense these schools, considered by some to be anachronisms in the age of belief in integration and "equal educational opportunity," can play a tremendously important role in the development of a pluralistic society. It would seem that the search for an ethnic identity cannot proceed without disagreement from many sides, and one lesson which Dawson has to offer is that there is danger that some people may feel their individuality threatened as large groups of their peers try to reach more unified notions of what constitutes blackness and what is best for black people. Even if there is an ideal answer to the problem, it cannot be found overnight, and it is more likely that schools like Dawson will serve to demonstrate that what is needed is many diversified approaches, a lesson which the society could profitably learn from whatever group may be the first to demonstrate it effectively.

The issue of heterogeneous grouping is the subject of academic discussions among groups ranging from first-grade teachers to college deans, but Dawson is accepting it as a given fact and, rather than viewing it as a disadvantage to be overcome, is attempting to evolve educational strategies which take advantage of this sort of grouping. The difference involves an entirely different attitude, a philosophy which might be of great benefit if applied more widely in higher education. For at Dawson, diversity is not represented by a few lonely individuals who must stand alone against the vast majority of students typical of the school's "normal" student body; a school with this minority sort of student representation does not seem to have any genuine belief in the possibilities of students from many different backgrounds and with many different skills educating each other. At Dawson, this pluralistic sort of education is becoming the normal state of affairs.

There is much to hope for and much to fear in the future of a school like Dawson. Before it can make much progress, it must weather this period of severe financial hardship in education all over the country. There are dangers in success, as well. The temptation for a school of rising prestige is to succumb to elitism, to indulge in the luxury of meritocratic selectivity, and to give up the promising, though often difficult, efforts at offering a quality education for a great variety of students. At the same time, such a school may be tempted to gauge its success by the number of students who "make it" in traditional society, and may therefore give up many of its unique features in an effort to be "just as good as" (or, as similar as possible to) those schools whose graduates have the greatest chance for financial and social status.

It may well be that in adopting this course, schools such as Dawson risk giving up their chance to have a far larger, and a far more beneficial, impact on society. It it continues on its present course, however, Dawson is in no danger of making this mistake

FRANKLIN UNIVERSITY

The spirit of the national civil rights movement had its impact on the nature of the effort that Franklin University was to assume in the education of minority groups. The civil rights confrontations throughout the country were met with a spontaneous response by a small number of activist students, faculty, and administrators on the Franklin campus. Their active participation in rallies, seminars, etc., provided the impetus for the university to commit itself formally to the educational needs of minorities, though these activists were viewed as radicals, for Franklin had traditionally been known to be one of the most prestigious, wealthy, and conservative universities in the Northeast.

In 1964 Franklin consciously chose to expand significantly the search for motivated and talented minority students from limited socio-economic and educational backgrounds. The university acknowledged that insufficient attention had been given to this area, that it had been remiss in not directing more energy and funds toward the achievement of a diverse student population. Consequently, Franklin began to implement an admissions program which emphasizes the search for, admission of, and financial assistance to an increased number of minority group students -- blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, poor whites.

The response to the first, hastily conceived recruitment attempt was unproductive, however. The few students who responded were not prepared educationally, psychologically, or financially to cope with the new demands imposed by college. The university was unaware of and unprepared for the magnitude of the adjustment problems of minority youths to the college experience. Consequently, the development of supportive programs for minority group students became one of the major concerns in the move to increase the ethnic diversity of Franklin. Concerned members of the administration realized that supportive programs must be included in any recruitment work in this area since the old "sink or swim" approach to minority group students' academic and social adjustment to the university had proven to be more harmful than denying admission initially.

In 1964 the approach to increased minority enrollment and support at Franklin took the form of concerned faculty, in various departments, providing special help. Interested faculty members were assigned students needing additional preparation in certain critical academic skill areas such as reading and English composition. While the involvement of faculty has continued to be important, more formal compensatory programs needed to be designed.

In the summer of 1965 Franklin participated in the Lawrenceville-Rutgers Summer Program. Minority group students evidencing a need for additional work in verbal and writing skills were enrolled in English courses designed to give the students a more solid background in these areas. A special emphasis was given to English composition since the major portion of college success centers on written reports, exams, etc.

Although enrollment was not mandatory, all newly recruited blacks were expected and encouraged to attend. There were extensive efforts to acquaint the recruits with black faculty members as well as other key university administrators (financial aid officers, deans, etc.) who were identified as being sensitive to the needs of minority youths. Specifically, the orientation program was to help participants develop self-insight so they could become aware of their goals, expectations, and the impact of their actions on others. Its second objective was to help the blacks acquire communication skills to better understand the messages of others and more accurately convey their own intentions.

There were several problems evident in the program, however. The new freshmen were not involved in the planning process, and it was easy for them to conclude that the university had identified them as "incompetents" to be reckoned with. Much of the faculty participation was unenthusiastic and uninspiring. And finally, the campus atmosphere and cultural differences posed serious adjustment problems for both students and faculty members.

In the summers of 1966 and 1967 Franklin established a program in conjunction with the school's Upward Bound Program and Master of Arts in Teaching Program for graduate students entering urban education. Held at a nearby private boys' school, the program employed entering Franklin freshmen as assistant tutors to Upward Bound students and also enrolled them in a carefully designed English course.

Franklin students enrolled in the summer program were also scheduled to take a special English course during their first semester of college work. The course concentrated on the development of reading skills and writing ability. Reading assignments were made regularly to expose the students to the type of reading matter they would experience during their first two years at Franklin. Short papers on the material were assigned frequently to measure the student's ability to understand the material and also to measure his ability to express his thoughts. The program was directed by a full-time faculty member with experience working in the black community, who was considered sympathetic to the needs of minority group students.

This approach to compensatory education revealed a number of problems which limited the effectiveness of Franklin's efforts. Students regarded as offensive and degrading the fact that they were singled out and required to attend special classes during the summer and academic year. The fact that special attention had been directed toward them by the university gave them a sense of not being able to perform the work that Franklin demanded. Another problem was the failure to arrange a program that would present the material to the students in a manner that would be both exciting and interesting.

The university and concerned minority group students realized that a new approach to compensatory education had to be devised. Two programs have developed at Franklin which have yielded some very positive results. These programs are the Pfeiffer Summer Orientation Program and something called, "Me, My Goals, and Franklin." The Pfeiffer Summer Orientation Program is an extension of a special scholarship program for minority group students interested in premedical preparation. The orientation program, now in its second year, was conceived by and is currently directed by students in the Pfeiffer Program.

In essence, the summer program encourages students receiving Pfeiffer Scholarships to participate in a summer orientation program tailored to individual needs. Two main areas are covered: what academic approach should the student take at Franklin; and what is the true world of medicine?

In the area of academic orientation, students are assigned to a preliminary science course in biology, chemistry, or organic chemistry. A course in calculus is also offered. Since Franklin is an academic institution that stresses individual work and research, these preliminary science courses were prepared to expose the students to the mechanics of analytical thinking as opposed to the rote or regurgitative approaches to academic material. Students become familiar with the scientific method of investigation and can plan on performing independent research at Franklin. Guest speakers from the medical community are invited to address the students on topics of interest and also to expose the Pfeiffer students to the world of the practicing physician. Trips to medical schools and hospitals are also part of the program. Students are assigned jobs as laboratory assistants to the faculty members working in the program. This furthers the students' orientation to the type of scientific work performed at Franklin. The program seems to have proved very successful for the students involved, evidently largely as a result of the students' involvement in program planning and direction.

Realizing that communication is an absolute necessity to bring about productive change in students' academic performance, Franklin faculty members, administrators and black freshmen have participated in a joint orientation program to establish a system of "contract building." This contract building is basically educational in that each group educates the other to its expectations of Franklin and its communities; what roles members of the group will take at Franklin; and what goals they can hope to achieve there. The orientation program also is designed around the dynamics of interaction that the black students will have with the rest of the student body, faculty members, and administration. It is hoped that this orientation program will facilitate the adjustment and education of the various communities at Franklin to each other and will help make the university a place of relevant education for all.

To assist undergraduates in their academic and personal adjustment to Franklin and college life in general, the university has established a Five Year Program. This program was formed primarily to give students the needed flexibility to pace their undergraduate years at Franklin at a rate that would be both comfortable and successful. If a student is recommended and admitted to the program, he may take a lighter course load and thereby prepare himself more gradually for college work. This program is open to all students evidencing a strong need for pacing. The program, however, is not rigid to the extent that once in the program a student cannot complete his academic requirements in four years. Students, in conjunction with their advisors and the Dean's Office, decide on the pacing appropriate for their successful academic development.

A number of organizations have been established over the last few years by minority group students at Franklin to develop a state of community and social grounding in order to make their stay more meaningful. These organizations have proven to be beneficial and educational for both the student and the university.

Afro-American Society

Many of the Afro-American undergraduates are involved in the Afro-American Society. This organization of students is fully recognized by the university and has proven to be an active participant in student affairs at Franklin. The Society is responsible for a number of cultural activities that take place on campus throughout the year. These activities range from "soul sessions" held at the Black House to the more formal Afro-American and African History courses. The Afro-American Society and Black House, which is both a cultural center and residential house for undergraduates, enable the students to develop a sense of community and identity among themselves.

Afro-American Institute

The Afro-American Institute was developed through the efforts of concerned Afro-American undergraduates who desire a complete and relevant education. In addition, the institute serves as the innovative source for a black academic program at Franklin. Enjoying a degree of autonomy from the university, the Institute has power to recommend and implement changes in the various academic departments. The Institute also helps

Franklin attract black professionals to the campus and this year is responsible for increasing the number of black faculty and administrators from four to approximately twenty-six. The Institute maintains a strong relationship with the Institute of the Black World in Atlanta, Georgia. The Institute of the Black World, which is currently directed by Vincent Harding, is researching the total range of the black man's experiences here in America. Franklin students interested in attending a university in the South for a year may apply to do so under the auspices of the Institute.

Pfeiffer Club

The Pfeiffer Club is an extension of the Pfeiffer Summer Orientation Program. Minority group students in the Pfeiffer Program and related sciences have formed a club to deal with issues that are of interest to them. The Club periodically invites speakers from the medical community and plans trips to nearby medical schools and hospitals. The Club also assists in recruiting to Franklin other students who are interested in medicine.

The Latin Leadership Club

In September 1969 Franklin substantially increased its enrollment of Spanish-speaking students. These students, sensing a need for the development of community and social grounding, have, with the assistance of a Ford Foundation Grant, organized themselves into the Latin Leadership Club. The organization probably will be similar to the Afro-American Society in that the students want to develop programs relevant to their needs.

The financial aid program at Franklin has expanded with the increased effort to recruit minority students. Substantial increases in the amount of financial aid available to minority students were approved in order to avoid denying admission to any student because of his lack of funds. The financial aid policy at Franklin is that for any student who is admitted, his full financial need will be met. A typical financial aid package would be approximately $5,000 for 1970-71. Financial aid funds come from sources such as Franklin scholarship money, Federal Educational Opportunity Grants, National Achievement Scholarship Program for Negro Students, Papago Indian Scholarship, National Student Loan, and College Work-Study Program.

The attrition rate among all minority group students has been low at Franklin, a condition which may be attributable to the fact that Franklin has not drawn its minority student population from the pool of the less academically able students. Board scores for the typical minority student at Franklin suggest that the student's motivation, coupled with his potential for academic success in an accepting, understanding, and supportive atmosphere would enhance his chances to graduate. Minority students have entered most departments at Franklin, concentrating in such fields as pre-medicine, government, psychology, and anthropology.

Franklin has learned over the last six years that a number of important steps must be taken if a program of minority group admission is to achieve significant success.

1. The most important factor seems clearly to be the collective psychological state of the university and its sub-communities regarding the recruitment of minority group students. The university communities (students, faculty, and administrators) must consider beforehand the fact

that changes in academic life-styles will occur and that they must approach these changes with a positive and flexible concern, and in consonance with the feelings of the minority citizens in the neighboring communities. The fact that Franklin has a reputation as an exclusive, elitist school for children of the wealthy has presented special problems for minority group students in relating to members of the minority group community in the surrounding town. These local residents may view college blacks as divorced from the problems of their own people, and may treat them with distrust or hostility.

2. A host of recruitment devices must be employed in order to reach a variety of minority group students from all geographical areas.

3. Strict adherence to the traditional weighting of admission criteria has to be changed in order to assess fairly the candidates' strengths.

4. In order to establish and maintain a successful recruitment program, a solid and adequate financial aid program must be established that takes into consideration the fact that the student's family is forced to live without the minority student's contribution to his family's income, and also the problems of a student who has just enough money to live on, yet who sees his fellow-students freely spending money for recreation, cars, long trips, etc.

5. Students should be involved in the planning of any special programs designed to facilitate their transition to a university community.

6. Colleges that recruit large numbers of minority group students must realize the needs of these students on campus. Organizations such as the Afro-American Society and Latin Leadership Club are both necessary and productive. The social climate on and off campus is an important factor in the student's adjustment to college life. The importance of the student's religious needs must not be overlooked.

7. Minority students must be assured that the university is committed, in all aspects of its operations, to assisting them in achieving a sense of power, prestige, and achievement as motivating factors to sustain their interest in attaining an academic degree.

8. Minority students must sense that they have developed an effective strategy for presenting their expectations, problems, and concerns to the faculty, staff, and administrators in a warm, accepting, and non-judgemental atmosphere.

9. The entire university must strive to become a more open system, a system which can modify itself to meet the changing social order in which it must operate. The faculty and students should make an evaluation of their behavioral norms and determine a course of

action which will bring these norms more closely in line with stated and agreed-upon university goals.

While Franklin is far ahead of many universities in leadership and programs, minority students are not convinced that Franklin is not more concerned with its image as a national leader in education than it is in developing new strategies for change to meet real minority student needs. This seems to indicate that intensive human relations training to meet the changing demands of a changing society can be extremely beneficial to the Franklin College community.

Although all members of the college community do not completely embrace the proposed goal of enrolling fifteen to twenty percent minority students, administration is cognizant of the possible problems and committed to developing an effective educational program for minority students. The administration does not plan to cut the amount of money spent on minorities at Franklin, even though there will be budget cuts in other areas.

All compensatory education programs will remain tentative and flexible so that they can be reflective of the needs of the segment of the population for which they were designed. The Five Year Pace of Study Program will continue to remain an option for all students who seem to indicate that their pace of study is the critical factor in their academic underachievement.

FERNCLIFF COLLEGE

Founded in 1852, this small liberal arts college in the midwest has a reputation for activism, nonconformity, liberalism and experimentation. Although Ferncliff is generally considered to be a highly selective school, its student body has become more heterogeneous in the past few years. Many of these students will continue to rank in the top 10 per cent of their high school graduating class, and many also will be able to meet the $4500 or higher costs with little or no strain. But a growing percentage have considerable problems with the rising tuition and fees, and a small minority need help in adjusting to the free-wheeling, independent study-oriented academic atmosphere.

Prior to 1964, when this college began its special program for "high risk" students, there were fewer than 30 blacks enrolled in the college. Only 128 blacks had previously attended the college during its 112-year history. Funded by a grant of more than $300,000 from one of the major foundations, the college's special program has enrolled approximately 100 students who would previously have been considered "inadmissible." The average age of these special students upon admission was 18, over seventy per cent were male, and close to 90 per cent were black. Seventy per cent qualified for the maximum Economic Opportunity Grant and over 90 per cent qualified for partial EOG funds.

The milieu into which these students had been specially recruited from the major ghettoes of the northeastern part of the United States was significantly different from anything most had experienced before. Ferncliff abolished the grading system in 1958 and is presently using a credit/no record system. The student receives credit for a course (usually five credits), or no record of any activity appears on his or her transcript. No letter grades are used; evaluations usually determine whether a student should receive credit or not. Many of these are self-evaluations, and many of the classes are independent study or classes initiated and taught by students.

The college once boasted of having the most complete honor system of any in the country. Most exams are still given on the honor system and students sign out their own books from the library. Students have complete control of the dormitories, and each floor (or hall) determines its own rules with regard to visiting hours, drugs, co-ed living arrangements, and pets. Co-ed dorms were initiated several years ago, officially, by the college. Presently a small minority of the students are living in co-ed rooms. Students living in dorms are not assigned co-ed roommates, but once the assignments are made (and the parents leave the campus), the students can live in their dorms with whomever, and whatever, they choose, as long as there are no strong objections from fellow hall-mates. Almost one quarter of the students live off-campus in their own apartments, rented homes, or communes. Their presence has a strong effect upon the small village of 5,000 in which the college is located.

Class attendance is usually required at the first and last class. Most professors "rap" instead of lecture, and most assign papers in place of exams. There are no longer any comprehensive exams to pass on the way toward graduation, except for basic exams in math and English, which many freshmen pass during orientation week.

The college was a pioneer in the field of work-study programs, operating under a plan which includes a normal five-year course of study for each student, and which provides that, normally, only about half of the student body will be on campus at any one time, each student working two quarters and spending two quarters on campus studying. There are variations to this structure, however, and the system is extremely flexible.

Freshman students all spend their first quarter on campus, then normally spend the next three months working. Students in their second year may work for three or six months, with similar flexibility in succeeding years. The basic framework within which the student plans his program is a required 160 academic credits and 80 work credits. Each student may fulfill these requirements in a large variety of ways.

This background information is vital for a clear understanding of the situation facing the poor or the lower-class minority student attending this college, which advertises in its bulletin that there are 2,000 educations in progress at Ferncliff, and each is different. One administrator has called this "almost incoherent individualization," and many faculty and students admit that the college is indeed in a constant and unpredictable state of flux and change, yet there is no doubt that this college is a leader in innovative practices in higher education. It is a proving ground for many theories and a refuge from many realities.

Let us begin now to examine the efforts that this college has made to provide educational opportunity to poor and minority students. What kinds of experiences does one have after being "air-lifted" from the ghetto to utopia? Ferncliff's initial effort at a high-risk program involved eleven students, who entered the school in 1965. By 1970 one of these students, a woman, had graduated. The program was not off to a very auspicious start. These eleven were offered tutoring on a voluntary basis, with tutors being themselves volunteers from among faculty and students; in addition, there were experts in remedial math and English, who had always been available to any student who might take the time to seek help. Special program staff consisted of two counselors, one of whom was black. They, however, and their successor, a white man who was given a post in the office of the Dean of Faculty, were met with indifference, if not resentment, by the students in the program. The college had completely failed to foresee problems in getting jobs for special students, problems arising from their inadequate academic qualifications, or from outright racial discrimination. Few, if any, attempts were made to design effective special procedures for obtaining jobs for these students.

Existing evidence seems to suggest that such a loosely structured "program" was simply not supportive enough, nor responsive to the needs of minority students. Most of the ten who left indicated that they were leaving because of emotional problems. Only one was asked to leave for academic reasons. As activities at Ferncliff for black students increased and evolved (largely through the efforts of black students themselves), the retention rate improved considerably. (Four of the ten students who dropped out have returned in the last two years.) However, these facts, though the only factual data available, do little to answer the question of whether the program could be termed a success.

The goal of the program was not necessarily to work with these students to achieve a Ferncliff degree. One thought was that minority students should be prepared to go back to their own communities to help. In addition, the administration felt that the students in the program and the other students in the Ferncliff community would have an enriching interracial and intercultural experience by the inclusion of a sizable number of working-class and minority students in the white middle-class world of the college and the local community. It was stressed that "even if these students don't graduate they will probably be better off after their exposure to the Ferncliff community for a number of years." The assumption was that this would indeed be an "enriching experience" for the previously "disadvantaged"student. Yet in the absence of a more carefully planned remedial and supportive effort, much of the enrichment had to be left to chance.

Because of the great freedom and emphasis on student participation at this college, several far-reaching efforts soon developed among the black students on the campus. Besides getting caught up in the Black Power movement in 1966-67, the black students began a movement of their own. The college in 1967 had no courses in African or Afro-American history, music, art, or literature. The black students attempted to communicate their feelings of alienation and frustration to the faculty and the adminstration through the organization of a black group focusing on African and Afro-American culture and history.

They met with little success in curriculum revision and in the increase in the number of black faculty or students. A chairman of one of the departments publicly announced during this time that he felt the students were doing all the organizing merely to attract attention. His opinion was not unique among the faculty at the college.

The students continued to organize and communicate to the faculty and students their impressions of Ferncliff College. In one position paper they stated "... a fear that the Ferncliff experience will eventually drag us away from our own personal identities and away from our own people by making us marginal men and women, bleached niggers, who have left what was ours for what the white man holds out to us, but continually denies us."

The black students also stressed that the existing curriculum did not deal with the needs of the black student. Because of the atmosphere of student activism on the campus, the blacks were able to receive considerable coverage in the student newspaper and on the college radio. By July of 1968, the black students wrote: "... over the last five quarters there has been a fantastic break-down between blacks and whites because of the black feeling of alienation toward college policy ...".

This series of events culminated in a list of demands presented by the black students on July 17, 1968. One asked for money to set up a separate Black Institute, and another demanded the removal of the director of the special program, who was, at the time, a white Ph.D.

A white faculty member commented, "It is doubtful whether anyone conceiving an interracial education program - especially a white man - could foresee all the changes which the institution would have to undergo in order to bring such a program into being and make it meaningful to black students."

The students were asking for separate classes and separate living quarters. This was indeed shocking because one of the primary myths about the college and the village was its perfect record in race relations and interracial living. The students were given a dorm, received a considerable amount of money from the college, and succeeded in having the director of the special program resign. What emerged was the first all-black dorm on a white college campus in recent memory. It was especially important because it was a product of the efforts of the college to increase its poor and minority population and educate its white students to some of the realities in America. As was stated previously, the primary goal was not to graduate more blacks, but to introduce pluralism to the campus and the community and observe the changes. This fit in perfectly with the experimental nature of Ferncliff, and the new students were given as much freedom to "do their thing" as anyone on the campus. Although bewildered by the unforeseen turn of events brought about by what they had considered to be good intentions, the adminstrators decided to make sure the black students secured and maintained their own separate facilities and resources.

The special program, which continued to enroll from 15 to 20 students per year, came under the direction of a black female social worker. Its role and influence decreased as the student-initiated Institute grew and required more money. By the fall of 1969 when a new black male was hired as director of this program, the staff had been reduced to a secretary, and his office consisted of two rooms in a building controlled by the black students. This building was in addition to their separate dorm in a different part of the campus.

In November of 1969, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare singled out Ferncliff to apply pressure to close its black dorm. There were now numerous such separate dormitories on white campuses, and the federal government was threatening to cut off all federal funds by December of 1969 unless this dorm at Ferncliff ceased to exist. Student leaders were included in discussions in Washington and on the college campus.

At a Board of Trustees Meeting two weeks before the HEW deadline, the leader of the black students and the director of the special program addressed the trustees. They pointed out the academic deficiencies of the special program, citing figures to show that 50% of the special students were in serious academic difficulty. The student leader presented new suggestions for the program and stated that black students would close the black dorm if the college substantially increased its working class enrollment and institutionalized the program the students had developed. The Board, overwhelmed by the new evidence that their special program left much to be desired, quickly endorsed the resolutions proposed by the administrator and student leader, and left the campus.

The faculty held a special meeting within a week and charged that the Board had no idea of the cost of the new program it had agreed to. The faculty was right, for when the cost was revealed a month later, it was over $5,000,000. By this time the students had closed the dorm and were attempting to work with the administration to help it implement what the Board had agreed to previously.

Ninety total-need students were admitted in the freshman class of 1970, and twelve of these were the last to be admitted under the old special program. This old program was being phased out, and the college was turning its priorities in new directions with great haste. The students closed the school for three days during the summer, maintaining that the college was going back on its commitment. They were demanding $440,000 for their program and the college had only given them $30,000. When the strike ended, every department in the college had its budget cut 5% and the students were promised an additional $230,000 for the 1970-71 year.

The students had by now been given offices in the Dean of Students' Office and had established their own program of Financial Aid, Counseling and Guidance, Driver Education, and Supportive Services. The Central Committee had ordered their old building repainted and repaired and they were now using this facility exclusively for the development of a new institute for the solution of social problems. Whites were allowed to take part in the leadership and organization of all these new student projects. In fact, the Director of the Institute is now white, and so are some of its component directors. The student-run program has been given status and financial resources comparable to those of other departments.

There are still no faculty on the staff of the new program, and it does not seem likely that the college will move to hire any in the near future. The amount of money going to the students next year had not been agreed upon as of March 1971. The number of total-need freshman admissions has been reduced from 90 in 1970 to 30 in 1971. This radical reduction stemmed from a shortage of available financial aid, the college having over-extended itself the previous year by admitting the 90 total-need students. Another interesting fact is that over half of the 1970 total-need students are white. Academically, these 46 white students were superior to the average Ferncliff freshman in the same entering class, and the black students averaged at the same academic level as other blacks entering in the regular class. Thus the only difference between the students in the new program and the regular Ferncliff students seems to be that the special students are not as well off financially. Finally, there are fewer minority faculty on contract now than two years ago, and no black has yet been hired into a major administrative position at the college.

There is reason to believe that the student program may be losing much of its strength and direction for several reasons:

1) For the first time in several years some of the black leaders are leaving the campus for employment on regular co-op jobs. (Many had been earning their work credits by becoming employees of the black students' organizations.)
2) Many students have realized that they had few academic credits and they are concentrating their energies on their studies.
3) The students remaining are content to administer whatever funds are allocated by the college.
4) Many of the more active black faculty and students have left or graduated.

What is the meaning of this evaluation of the Ferncliff program? Can it be called successful? According to Ferncliff administrators, it can. And they may be right, especially since program goals were initially stated so nebulously. The school was made, more or less, into some sort of integrated community, and survived. The four-year "experiment in interracial living" was conducted without irremediable casualties. The school may even be said to have benefitted from some of the changes which the new students brought about. Much discussion resulted in changes in the evaluation system, and in the curriculum. Some mandatory courses were dropped, and there are many more student-initiated courses and projects. Some courses are actually taught by students, some as young as freshmen.

Yet a brief examination of the history of the program still leads to the conclusion that it has *not* been a success. What went wrong? It seems that the primary lesson the Ferncliff experience has to offer is the need for careful planning, and program structure. The lack of clearly stated goals may have had face-saving results in the end, but the program might well have been better directed if certain accomplishments had been expected of it. After goals are established, careful planning is necessary, with a realistic assessment of financial resources available, and what can and cannot be done with the money. The program should be provided with a competent staff, equipped with relevant skills and experiences to enable them to relate well to students, and this staff should receive firm support from the administration. In addition, much can be learned from cooperation with other institutions who are attempting such programs.

The most important problem at Ferncliff may be summed up in the need for structure. A firmer structure for this program might have resulted in a more successful effort to attack the academic problems of the students, an area in which the program dramatically failed.

No doubt the students learned a great deal from what they were able to accomplish within the great amount of independence they were given. However, a more carefully directed program might have given them these benefits as well as a college experience more successful in the traditional sense.

MARIPOSA STATE UNIVERSITY

As a large urban university in the Southwest, Mariposa State University has at various times instituted several programs specifically aimed at minority group students:

Upward Bound - a program for 10th, 11th, and 12th grade students of three high schools in the metropolitan area; attempts to provide enriched experiences for low achieving minority students in order to increase their chances of success in higher education. The program at Mariposa began prior to Federal programs, when faculty members pooled resources to bring approximately 25 black students from a nearby ghetto area for Saturday counseling and tutorial assistance. Enrollment has increased to a level of approximately 130 students, the majority of whom are black and Chicano.

Equal Opportunity Program - a program designed for students who are regularly admitted for university work but who require counseling and tutorial assistance as well as financial assistance.

College Commitment Program - a program involving students in the recruitment of different ethnic groups for different levels of college programs.

Engineering High Potential Program - a program developed by Hughes Aircraft and coordinated by the Engineering Department at Mariposa. Supportive services are provided by the special programs staff, but the academic curricula and staff are provided by the Engineering Department.

High Potential Program - a program designed for the student who does not meet the college's normal admissions requirements. It is a transitional program in which students take specially designed courses to increase their self-awareness, ethnic pride, language skills, and adjustment to college life, before going on to enroll in regular college courses. All special courses offered by the program center around curriculum materials chosen for their ability to increase students' understanding of and pride in their own style of life. This case study concentrates on the High Potential Program.

The High Potential Program at Mariposa grew out of the work of a Student Task Force composed mainly of Mexican-American students and members of the Black Students Union. The program went into effect in 1967 with separate components for black and Mexican-American students. The following year, additional sections were set up for Asian-American and American Indian students, and about 300 students were enrolled in the four areas of the program.

In an effort to show respect for the uniqueness of each ethnic group, designers of the program provided separate curriculum and instructors for each component. Ethnic pride and self concept are consistently stressed as primary goals of the program, and the curriculum material emphasizes ethnic group history, literature, and other cultural expressions. The strategy of the program is to introduce the remedial basic skills material through the culturally based courses.

Students are recruited for the program by staff members of each individual component. Recruiters seek students from economically deprived background who have in some way demonstrated potential for achievement, ethnic identification and commitment, and some degree of maturity. Using special tests devised by program staff, potential students are tested for their level of specific skills in math, composition, and grammar. Each applicant is considered on the basis of profile sheets, previous school record, letters of recommendation, and the Parent Confidential Statement or a financial background statement.

As might be expected, recruiters for the American Indian component report the highest degree of difficulty in their efforts. They cite such physical difficulties as limited mail service, muddy or otherwise inaccessible areas, and poor or nonexistent telephone communication. Recruitment usually must be attempted by means of visits to the reservation, and very often these efforts are hampered by the mounting suspicion with which those on the reservation view outsiders. Most black students are recruited from communities near the campus, and many are veterans recently returned from Vietnam. Some students are recruited through the College Commitment Program. A large percentage of students in the Asian component are in the country on student visas and may be paying higher out-of-state fees.

The Student Services Division is responsible for counseling students in the High Potential and Equal Opportunity Programs. The academic counseling section provides assistance to all students in course and program planning, and one counselor is available to students in each program for assistance in such non-academic problems as housing, financial aid, and personal matters. Instructors are also expected to act as counselors.

Students in the High Potential Program are considered fully matriculated. Although they are provided with a specially designed curriculum, taught almost exclusively by instructors in the program, they receive regular unit credit at the university. As they proceed in the High Potential Program, they begin to take one or two courses in the regular university complex. Depending on their progress after two or three quarters, an evaluation is made as to whether they should go into the university as regular E.O.P. students.

Many of the students in the High Potential Program come to college with severe deficiencies in the basic skills, and these deficiencies are difficult to correct during the one-year program. Emphasis is placed on academic counseling, but it is frequently difficult to get students to come to counseling sessions. In addition, and perhaps acting as a cause of this lack of motivation, there are many other difficulties which students in the program must face.

Perhaps the primary problem for the High Potential Program is the perception of it by many students as stigmatizing them on campus. Interviewers found, again and again, that students were quite willing to state their doubts about the good intentions of the university toward the program and about the attitude of other students on campus toward students in the program. Instructors report that thirty or forty percent of the students are demonstrably "turned off" to the program by such concrete factors as inadequate financial support or the social problems they encounter in the campus setting. Others, as might be expected, are discouraged by their inadequate academic preparation or the loneliness of being so far away from home. But there does seem to be some question of whether the university and the program might be able to deal with these kinds of problems more effectively.

The campus dormitories are predominantly white, and students living on campus are not receptive to program students, admittedly considering them ill-equipped to be on [illegible] campus. Program students are given a choice of dormitory, and are usually grouped together somewhat within each dormitory. But because of the negative feeling they perceive among regular students toward the program, they consider dormitory living undesirable. Yet off-campus living is quite expensive. This dilemma is related to another aspect of program inadequacy, financial aid.

The financial aid package varies from $800 to $1200 per semester, and almost every student considers it grossly inadequate. Little is left after tuition and room and board bills are paid, and students are told that they cannot work during the semester. They are, however, expected to earn at least $300 during the summer. Students report that the manner in which aid is doled out to them seems very insulting, and they also report continuous threats that aid will be cut off. Preoccupation with the financial struggle has been so great that some students say the first year of the program was educational only in that it meant learning how to survive.

These kinds of problems are known on the campus, and some students find the situation so embarassing that they attempt to hide their involvement in the program. Some program staff and instructors concur, and believe that the fact that a student is enrolled in the High Potential Program should not be made known to university faculty, as the experience has been that faculty tend to prejudge such students' ability.

Program staff members also report that during the initial stage of the program they were constantly bounced from one building to another, each usually more deteriorated than the last. The consensus of the staff is represented by such comments as, "you're never in a stable position," "there hasn't been real commitment on the part of the university" and "the university was not ready to meet us psychologically, materially, or any other way." They report that student program cards are believed to be the last to be handled by the university, payment of stipends is almost always late, and program staff experience rudeness or are totally ignored in their communication with other college personnel. Such problems help to inflame the growing feeling of resentment at being outside the normal structure of the university. At one point, both students and faculty thought it necessary to stage a strike and protest march to alleviate the unpleasant conditions.

Among other problems, all of the special programs are considered understaffed, and there continues to be a very high turnover tate. There presently exists little opportunity for program students to interact with other university students. Plans are underway to provide the means by which students in the four components will come together for group lectures and discussions of topics germane to minority movements in the United States.

At this writing, it appears that some of the hostility toward the program on the part of students may be lessening, although the typical view is that it is "just another minority program." Receptivity is especially good in the Asian community. Probably much good could be accomplished by an effective public relations effort, to publicize the positive effects of the program.

Program staff regard the High Potential Program as too tightly bound to traditional practices and views, not sufficiently innovative. Although there have been some successful attempts at new methods of instruction, there is too little operating authority vested in the program staff itself; even minute details must be dealt with at higher levels in the university. It is also true that students can only receive a maximum of eight credit units for their year's work in the program, in what may be seen as a significant undervaluation of the work involved, as well as a considerable frustration to the students who do the work. A library course offered in the program, for example, offers no credit, though a similar course at another branch of the university receives three units.

After their one year in the High Potential Program, students are expected to go on into the university, to a junior college...or back to the streets.

MITFORD UNIVERSITY

Mitford University is located in a small college town in the Northeastern United States, close to several other colleges and universities with which it maintains close ties. Prior to the fall of 1968, there were only about eighty black students on the campus of this large state university, and some faculty members were expressing concern that minority groups were so disproportionately represented. With the receipt of a Ford Foundation pilot grant, a group of faculty members from all the local colleges formed the Committee for Collegiate Education of Black Students (CCEBS) and designed a program for so-called high risk students which went into effect in the Fall of 1968. This special effort, also called CCEBS, began with 125 students recruited by black faculty with high school and community assistance. Most of the students came from the two large metropolitan areas of the state, and most had been in the technical, commercial or general high school programs of large urban schools. A very small percentage came from college preparatory programs, and a very few were recruited from Roman Catholic high schools. Although in the first group of special students, there were many more females than males, later recruitment efforts have been aimed at increasing the proportion of young men, making the numbers more nearly equal. Although the program grew out of a concern for educating more black students, there was one white enrollee soon after the program's inception --an Italian. There have been concerns voiced regarding the name of the program, with some people expressing fear that potential applicants from other minority groups may consider themselves ineligible.

The staff of the special program consists of a director (a member of the Psychology Department), thirteen part-time counselors of whom eleven are black, and a research team of one full-time person, two part-time graduate students, and a work-study student. Sixty-five to seventy tutors make up the bulk of the program staff; approximately ten of these are black, the majority being white graduate students.

Tutoring and counseling are essential components of the program. Initially tutors, though paid from program funds, were hired through the various departments, resulting in a somewhat chaotic tutoring situation. Some tutors were not actually affiliated with the university, and some were tutoring in areas in which they were less competent. As a result, tutors began to be hired as teaching assistants, assigned to the respective departments, and paid half their salaries by the program, half by their department.

Other problems with the tutoring component showed themselves in students' attitudes toward this aspect of the program. Tutoring was no longer mandatory for program students after the first year since many felt that such a requirement stigmatized them as "stupid" or unable to do the work. Many also objected to being required to participate in an effort for which they received no official credits.

Another objection raised by the students was to the small number of black tutors; program participants felt that they needed tutors to whom they could more easily relate. As a result of this objection, a program was developed to provide Training Counselors, undergraduate students qualified to tutor other students. The prevalence of this need for satisfying relationships is also shown in the counseling area, where most of the problems brought by the students relate to their personal psychological adjustment needs, rather than to academic coursework.

CCEBS students are registered in regular college courses, with only two courses specifically designed for the program: reading and study skills. Though there are varying opinions among program students about courses taken in the regular college program, a prevalent complaint concerned the"hidden agendas" instructors are frequently observed to have, leading students to feel that they simply do not fully understand what is expected of them. In the absence of clearly stated objectives for certain courses, students sometimes see them as irrelevant, especially when they demonstrate no recognition of the contributions made by blacks in the area involved. Some students even conceive of these omissions as deliberate, as another way in which blacks are pressured to conform to white behavior and standards in order to survive. When administrators and faculty remain inflexible in their refusal to offer any formal recognition of black culture, students see their intransigence as the result of inability to understand such contributions as well as of willful ignorance of black life and history.

Another major curriculum problem has been the lack of sufficient tutoring in math. Approximately 60% of program students fail this subject. Many see the difficulty as a combination of poor preparation and an uncooperative attitude on the part of the mathematics department staff. At the very least, there is need for a basic introductory course in mathematics which will establish a firm groundwork for the regular university course.

Admission criteria for the CCEBS program, like those of similar programs, avoid traditional measures. Test scores were not considered a good reflector of the actual ability of the students the program sought to enroll. Admission decisions also took account of the fact that students in this group usually come out of inadequate high school systems. Therefore, attempts were made to be more flexible in judging potential for college work. Most students in the program suffer from severe economic disadvantagement as well, and average financial support is $1400 or $1500 a year. Officials try to be flexible in determining financial need, also, after requiring the Parent's Confidential Statement the first year and concluding that it was too cumbersome a form, not properly reflective of families' true circumstances. However, there are still student attitude problems in this area. Some students feel there is inadequate recognition of the fact that their attendance at college deprives their families of support in the meantime. Some complain about the attitude they perceive among university people that they are dispensing a welfare-type "gift."

In other areas, the program has had problems from the beginning, but there is evidence of attempts to make improvements. Initial publicity was not handled well, and there was open hostility toward the blacks as well as harassment by many of the white students and local residents. In addition, the general reaction of some segments of the faculty was a feeling that standards were being lowered and that the program would demean the university's reputation.

The housing situation has continually been a serious and sensitive problem. In the first year of the program, CCEBS students were concentrated in one area of the campus, quite a distance from buildings in which classes were held. Added to other forms of harassment, this housing placement made the students feel they were being ignored, at best. When the students attempted to open a black cultural center in a building that was also being used as a fraternity house, physical acts of violence resulted and an extremely tense situation was relieved only by the organization of "marathon" sessions and symposia on various types of "awareness."

During the second year of the program, black freshmen were housed in a larger, better located residential area. The contact with white students living in the same buildings was reported to be "near natural." Virtually all freshmen live on campus; about 5% of sophomores and upperclassmen live off campus. After the crisis of the first year, program students began to take a broader university leadership role, involving themselves in planning activities, negotiating for a Black Activities Council, serving on House Governments, etc.

A more effective program would seem to be possible with an earlier and more accurate assessment of students' needs. Such an assessment should concern not only students' educational development but also improved self perception. In this area, a Black Repertory Theatre has been created as one means of developing the cultural center and strengthening students' self-esteem and participation on campus. A course on Contemporary Education of the Afro-American was being planned as a means of enhancing students' understanding of the historical concept of public education and what has happened to the education of black people.

Morale problems continue to exist among students themselves. There is lack of unity, and lagging confidence. The promising Afro-American Organization has been dissolved, and has left a leadership vacuum among the black students.

Some students, in voicing their concern about the sacrifices their families must make to permit their children's involvement in the program, suggested that provisions should be made to keep parents informed of program activities and to provide them with opportunities to visit the college campus. In another area, students and program staff warned aginst quick evaluations of programs designed to serve the educationally and socio-economically handicapped. Although they feel that internal evaluations are necessary and desirable, they emphasize that hasty conclusions should not be drawn and reported. A subtle and very sensitive problem area is some students' perception of black faculty and administrators as permitting themselves to be used as pawns by white administrators. Some see them as serving more to question the needs black students articulate then to work cooperatively to bring about the kinds of change which are essential.

The predominant feeling, however, is that favorable response and support for the program are growing continuously among the student body, administration, and faculty. Although initial funding did not come from within the institution, there are many who feel confident that the university is committed to furthering the ideals upon which the program is built.

RAMSEY STATE UNIVERSITY

Ramsey State University is a state-supported university with five full-time day undergraduate colleges offering four-year programs. In addition, the university has graduate, professional, and evening schools. The total enrollment now approaches 30,000 students who are attending colleges located on three campuses. The main campus which is the home of the principal undergraduate college sprawls over an area of 2,000 acres. The enrollment at this particular college is 7,000 students.

The special compensatory education program at Ramsey State was brought into being in September 1969 in response to a combination of many forces. Essentially, however, the university's Board of Governors decided that the institution should make provision for disadvantaged minority group students. This directive coincided with a grass-roots movement by the relatively few black students who were already on campus to pressure the University into initiating a special program. The Board of Governors committed adequate funding to insure the initiation of the program during the first year. The University went to the state legislature requesting financial support after that year. While there was considerable debate regarding the fact that the University had initiated the program and was now coming to the state for funding, the outcome was that the state did assume principal fiscal responsibility for the program during its second year. Federal support also comes in the form of Economic Opportunity Grants, work-study opportunities and National Defense Loans.

The responsibility for recruitment and selection into the program remains with the University's regular admissions office. Under a special arrangement, college admissions counselors are assisted in their recruitment effort by upper-class black students. Admission is based on the following four criteria: the student must (1) be a high school graduate or hold a state equivalency diploma; (2) come from an economically disadvantaged family background; (3) be a resident of the state for one year and reside within commuting distance of the university; and (4) demonstrate motivation to complete a degree program at Ramsey State. All of the students enrolled in the program would have been ineligible for admission to the college under the regular admissions policies. Most of them had been enrolled in non-academic programs while in high school, and less than twenty-five percent of them had even taken the Scholastic Aptitude Test. It is interesting to note that of the approximately twenty student participants who were interviewed none of them indicated that their high school counselor had brought the program to their attention. In fact, many of the students reported being discouraged by their guidance counselor from even considering college as a possibility. The group of students who entered Ramsey State in 1969 were identified and contacted largely through the efforts of the recruitment team from the University's admissions office. Several of the students interviewed who entered Ramsey State in 1970 reported that they had heard about the program from friends and students who were in the first year of the program.

Recruitment of students into the program at Ramsey State has not been a problem because the target population is geographically limited to the commuting area, and because they represent the hard-core educationally disadvantaged, abundantly represented in the neighboring urban high schools.

In the area of financial aid, the pattern has generally been to provide sufficient grant money to cover the minimal fixed expenses, i.e., tuition, books, and fees. Students have found it necessary to work or take out loans to cover completely their educational and personal expenses. Well over half of the students hold either part or full-time jobs to offset their college expenses and to contribute in part to the support of the family. The director reports that the program has lost several promising students because of financial pressures. There is, of course, no provision made for room and board since all program participants are non-resident students. In discussing the financial aid program and policies, the Director of Financial Aid expressed a concern that inasmuch as the financial aid is credited to a student's account and the student never actually gets to handle the money, students are often left with the feeling that they are considered fiscally irresponsible. Students validated this contention by stating that the University is "getting fat" on state and federal monies coming directly into its hands-- and that the institution was not about to trust these students to manage their own financial affairs and pay their university bills accordingly. The arguments on both sides-- one, efficiency of operation, the other concerning the development of fiscal responsibility as well as good faith between the university and the students-- are both rational and compelling. The overriding consideration, however, is the fact that this condition represents the planting of another seed of mistrust between the institution and the program students.

The program itself is a comprehensive arrangement of supportive services designed to enable students to move-- at an individually determined rate-- into and through the regular curriculum of the institution. When the student first meets with the program staff an academic program is prepared based on the student's interest, aptitudes, and previous experiences. This program consists of a combination of regular and developmental course work. Supplementary services are provided by paid teaching assistants in the form of mini-course study sessions which parallel content being covered in regular courses, and small group tutorials. At the present time there are 160 students enrolled in the program, which is staffed with a director, a full-time administrative assistant, four counselors, twelve instructors, and a team of teaching assistants.

More important than a description of the program components, however, is an analysis of how the several components actually function in relation to each other and to the university structure, in general. At the outset, students meet with their counselors, all of whom are black, and plan a meaningful program for the year. During the first semester the student's program consists of three developmental courses and one regular course. In subsequent semesters the developmental coursework is decreased and regular coursework is increased according to the student's readiness. The goal is for the student to work into a full program of regular courses at which time he "officially" leaves the jurisdiction of the special program and relies on the support services of the university at large. In an informal manner students at this point may continue to identify with and maintain relationships with program staff members with whom they may have developed special rapport.

It should be noted that a serious problem is presented by the fact that developmental coursework does not yield college credit. The staff is attempting to rectify this situation by submitting course outlines through the formal network of committees on curriculum and academic affairs. Three of the program instructors who teach developmental courses, but who also teach one or two regular college credit courses, stated without reservation that the developmental courses were at least as rigorous academically, and often more demanding than regular college credit courses. Students not only reiterated this contention, but also voiced the belief that the developmental courses were more relevant and meaningful. Several students stated that they were being penalized over again "for having been victimized by twelve years of a grossly inadequate public school education." When queried about this situation in depth, program staff revealed that there was a good deal of resistance from old-line conservative faculty members and departmental chairmen who view the granting of credit for these courses as a "watering-down" of the revered Ramsey degree. It is worthy of note that the program director reported several requests by regularly admitted Ramsey students to enroll in various developmental courses.

The counselors in the program assume an ombudsman-like role in monitoring students' progress and in protecting their rights and general welfare. Written narrative evaluations are submitted by regular college instructors for each student in the compensatory program who is enrolled in their regular courses. Additionally, the program staff holds periodic meetings with the student participants to discuss grade point average reports, attendance patterns, and strategies for coping with the college's environmental press. The University applies the regular academic standards relative to retention and probation after the completion of the third semester. The program staff makes every attempt during the first three semesters to insure that these students will fare well in this rigorous academic review. The counseling staff meets regularly with students, initiates home visits, and attempts to stay with the student in every conceivable way. General orientation meetings for parents are also conducted at the college in an attempt to let parents become acquainted with staff members, the nature of the program, and to urge them to continue supporting the program in terms of their own children and in a larger sense by contacting appropriate government officials to express their feelings about the program.

In student interviews there was a general consensus that the educational guidance offered by the counselors was a significant aspect of the program. Moreover, they expressed the opinion that it would not make any difference whether the counselors were black or not. As one student put it, "once he showed me that he knew what it was all about-- right on." On the other hand, when reference was made to the counseling relationship as it concerns personal and social problems, students said that a black counselor would be more desirable in that he would be better able to empathize with their particular situation and experiences.

The director of the program felt that the regular college instructors were cooperative and interested in the program. He cited their generally conscientious attention to the written narrative evaluation. Students, however, were not as convinced that the regular instructors had wholesome attitudes about the program. One student claimed that the older faculty members were insensitive, while another student felt that they were indifferent. He cited, for example, his two regular instructors this semester who informed the class of office hours, yet were difficult to track down when out-of-class assistance was needed. Student reaction was clearly mixed on this particular point, apparently reflecting the specific relationships and experiences each student has had with various instructors. It is interesting to note that the students were not overly concerned about the attitudes of regular faculty members, inasmuch as they had their own staff of instructors in their program who quite obviously were a dedicated and competent group of individuals. In a sense, the students resigned themselves to the reality that certain attitudes were long in developing and would be around at least during their college careers-- and therefore their strategy was to live with this condition as well as they could. This was not the case, however, when students were asked about the attitudes of other students. One student apparently echoed the feelings of others when he stated, "Like when you're playing ping-pong in the student center, it's all okay unless you happen to mention that you're in the program-- then something happens to the situation. I can't explain it, but I can feel it. Things aren't the same any more. What really hurts is when the regular student is black-- like Wow! Like, brother, I'm here trying to make it." The students believed that there was a socioeconomic class variable operating with the regular students, regardless of ethnic background, apparently resenting the presence of other students who were not "paying their way." Another student ventured the opinion that regular students tended to view students in the special program as second-class citizens on campus because they had not met the same high admission standards, were receiving financial aid, and were only commuting students.

Perhaps the major obstacle threatening the success of the program is the fact that all student participants are commuting students. College officials cite the severe shortage of dormitory facilities, undoubtedly an accurate assessment. However, in discussing the commuting problem, students and instructors, both regular and developmental, agreed that there were political implications, that, in one theory, the institution was concerned about alienating the "tax-paying" power structure by causing academically qualified regular students to seek housing off campus. In addition to the social-psychological implications associated with being a "commuting student," there are also clear-cut educational disadvantages. One student put it this way, "I get home at four o'clock and put my books on the table and it's another world. The T.V. is going, my sister is playing records with her boyfriend, my younger brothers are fighting, and my mother is trying to figure out what to make for supper.... Like if you were on campus in a dormitory the college atmosphere would be with you all the time."

In discussions with students and staff members in the program about their perceptions of the institution's commitment to the program, the following comments were made: "qualified commitment," "not really," "with reservations," "their hearts are not in it," etc. In fact, there appeared to be an overriding preoccupation with institutional attempts to gain evidence that the program was not successful. Consequently, there is an atmosphere of paranoia and mistrust which permeates the program. That is, not only are the students fighting for survival, but a good deal of the staff's energy is addressed to counteracting perceived threats to the program from various quarters within the institution.

While the majority of students interviewed indicated that the college was "just waiting for us to fold," the director of the program was somewhat more optimistic. He does feel that the program is slowly becoming institutionalized. He cited the increased number of students in the program, the increased number of minority group faculty members on the college's regular staff, the institution of black studies and African history courses in the college's regular curriculum, and the fact that the compensatory program has been elevated to departmental status. He was quick to admit, however, that his department did not enjoy the prestige of other departments, and that his staff were neither tenured nor in positions of faculty rank.

It is obvious that the social-political activity of students in the programs is limited by virtue of the fact that they are commuting students. The students have tended to form their own "community" on campus, congregating and socializing in the program's network of offices and tutorial rooms. The students explained that elections for student government offices were, in effect, popularity contests, and since the program students were on campus essentially to attend classes they were not well known to the majority of regular students. The students expressed considerable concern about this situation inasmuch as it prohibits their having a voice in the development and implementation of policies and regulations which bear upon their own college careers. In effect, their only avenue for bringing about needed reforms was by petition or constructive demonstrations. Several students said that they had been warned in the past that if any program students were found to be involved in any campus disruption, the funds for their program would be cut back. Many of the students expressed a sense of frustration about not having any viable alternatives open to them for having an impact on the conditions which affect their educational lives.

There was general agreement that the regular students were unfriendly and "cliquish." Students in the program therefore tended to stay together and plan their own activities. They started their own black newspaper in an effort to stay together and in communication with each other.

A comprehensive and systematic evaluation of the program by an external body is to be conducted upon the completion of the second year of the program. There are, however, results of an evaluative nature covering the operation of the first year of the program. These students received passing grades in 78% of the college credit courses taken and in 60% of the developmental non-credit courses in which they were enrolled. Over 74% of the students received a grade of C or better in the college credit course work taken. The director of the program suggested that the difference between performance in credit courses and non-credit courses is motivational. That is, the students performed best and gave the most attention to those courses which were credited toward a degree.

It is interesting to note that students registered for 30% fewer developmental courses during the spring semester-- thus validating the contention that these non-traditional students could move rapidly into a regular program of academic studies given the proper conditions. The attrition rate has been lower than the national average, and for the program it was pointed out that a significant number of students actually transferred to other institutions, several to predominantly black colleges. Others have left because of financial difficulties. At best the attrition rate indicates that individual students have chosen other alternatives to continuing their education at Ramsey State. At worst, the attrition rate could suggest that the institution was not meeting the students' needs.

ROBINCLIFF COLLEGE

Robincliff College is a prestigious, formerly all-woman college in the Northeast, just recently beginning to admit a few males to its ivy-covered halls. Of approximately 1600 students at Robincliff in 1970, there were 59 black students, one a male, and 56 of whom were on scholarship.

The presence of these black students on campus was due mostly to their own initiative and persistence in gaining admission to the school, as well as to the support of those administrators within the college who were either actively committed to increasing Robincliff's minority enrollment or simply determined to support individual black students whom they felt should be admitted. According to one administrator at the school, there was almost no special effort to recruit minority students, and no commitment to admit those who were especially educationally or economically disadvantaged. He indicated that it was his impression that most of the black students were from middle class homes. In addition, Robincliff's black students, in the main, were drawn from the upper ten per cent of their respective high school classes and scored in the 550-600 range on the verbal section of the Scholastic Aptitude Test, a range just 50 points below that of the total student population. One official emphasized that these minority students, though not without academic problems, could not be considered "high risk" students as traditionally perceived. Nearly all were from large urban high schools, with most from New York City, though a few from Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, and other large urban centers.

At least prior to 1970, there was no official commitment at Robincliff to educate disadvantaged minority students. No official statement had come from the

Board of Trustees or other college officials regarding the college's role in this area; there had been a small amount of contact with the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, and the school had recently joined in the College Bound Program. There was a one-year attempt at a special remedial program for nine "non-matriculated" students, of whom six had survived, either as matriculated freshmen or sophomores. Even in this program, however, students were simply offered tutoring and counseling services, available to every student in the college upon request. Some officials indicated that they felt this lack of action was the result of the college's predominant concern with expansion of physical facilities, curriculum innovations, fund raising, and the development of the school as a coeducational institution. Some frankly doubted the possibility of measurably larger numbers of black students being admitted in the future, citing fear of withdrawal of badly needed alumnae financial support as the reason. Some feel that alumnae will disapprove because of the drain on financial resources, because they view increased minority admission as a sign of "giving in" to pressure group demands, or because they fear that the "quality" of education at Robincliff will diminish if large numbers of minority students are admitted.

Some special consideration was given to minority students in financial aid arrangements. In 1970, 19 of the 23 black freshmen were receiving average financial assistance of $2,868, about $388 higher than the overall college average. In most cases, aid to black students was entirely in grant form. Special counseling services were provided in the form of a part-time advisor, a black senior student.

With such a loosely-structured arrangement, more properly labelled a non-program, it was almost inevitable that students would eventually be moved to voice discontent. There were continuing signs of impending trouble; most observers were able to detect growing misunderstanding and alienation of black and white students. Activist political groups such as SDS, Students' Afro-American Society, and Du Bois were too small to have any effective voice on campus. Although some faculty members were viewed as supportive, there were not enough of them and their support was inconsistent. There were no formal ties between the school and the local black community, and the surrounding white community was viewed as decidedly non-supportive, if not actually hostile to black students' attempts to seek changes in the opportunities open to them on campus. The girls saw little or no effort to make any courses more relevant to black students, an omission which they felt particularly keenly in literature courses, where no black authors were read. In addition, they felt the lack of a rewarding social life, being isolated on a predominantly female, predominantly white campus and separated in various dorms even from each other. They felt there were no provisions made to help insulate them from what they viewed as the cultural shock of adjusting to life on the Robincliff campus.

Finally, in 1969, the black students organized a petition asking that a black studies major be instituted; that a full-time black counselor be provided; that facilities be obtained for an urban center in the community outside the college; and that provision be made for separate black housing. After some vacillation on the part of the trustees, culminating in a takeover by the black students of the main building, the program urged by the students was set up. An Urban Center was established, offering lectures and courses to Robincliff students and community people, as well as tutoring for local high school students by Robincliff students. A bus was obtained for transporting girls to and from the Urban Center, and also to social events and other places they might wish to go but had previously been unable to reach without spending money which many didn't have. Plans were made to hire a full-time black counselor, and a "black corridor" was set aside in one of the residence halls. A black studies major was begun, with provision for students to take another major also, if they chose.

It may well be that minority students represented in such small numbers at traditionally white, elitist colleges will never be able to feel content with their college experiences because their low representation ensures that they will continue to view themselves as outsiders. At any rate, black students at Robincliff, though frequently expressing satisfaction with the black and community-oriented aspects of their life there, remain relatively unenthusiastic about the general college life. Plans for the future include the expressed intention of expanding enrollment from 1600 to 2400, with priority given to black males and black female students. Active recruitment efforts directed at these populations have begun. Perhaps when the proportions of black, white, male, and female are more nearly the same size, minority students will feel more at home, and will also be able to have a greater influence in college life, making it more relevant to themselves, as well as more reflective of the "real world" outside, certainly a service to all students in the college.

The College Readiness Program: A Program for Third World Students at the College of San Mateo, California

In its heyday between 1966 and 1968 the College Readiness Program received the acclamation of being the finest program for students of color anywhere in the country. Through its active recruitment efforts, the minority enrollment on campus had jumped from 80 to nearly 800 within a two-and-a-half year period; counseling, tutoring, and a strong Program Center had reduced the dropout rate among "risk" students from 90 to 15 percent; leadership as well as student effort had created a sense of loyalty and a degree of morale rarely achieved in any facet of academic life. Yet, by the end of the fall 1968 semester, police had been called on campus, the directors of the College Readiness Program had been removed from their posts, and over half of the minority students in the Program had either been expelled or had themselves withdrawn from the college.

While it is impossible in any historical account to vouch for information gathered after the event, the many participants and observers in the San Mateo story tend to contradict each other less than simply to see what happened from different vantage points and thus give their attention and approval or disapproval to different issues. Community members, trustees, administration, faculty and students both in and outside the Program acknowledge its dramatic if frightening success, the inability of the college to incorporate it into the mainstream of academic life, the tightening of financial and political controls, and the resulting dissolution of the project and its replacement by a more containable program of compensatory education.

THE BACKGROUND

To understand what happened at the College of San Mateo, and what may happen in other junior colleges throughout the country as they attempt to provide programs for Third World students, it is necessary to place the college in the context of higher education, and in particular, of higher education in the State of California.

In the past twenty-five years, we in the United States have witnessed the dramatic growth of higher education. Education, and defense, have become the two most rapidly expanding industries in our country. The Council of Economic Advisors notes that education spending has been increasing ten and a half percent a year for the last decade while the total economic growth has been less than four percent a year.[1] According to Clark Kerr, "The production, distribution, and consumption of 'knowledge' in all its forms is said to account for 29 percent of the gross national product. . . and knowledge production is growing at about twice the rate of the rest of the economy."[2]

From most viewpoints, this dramatic growth has been considered a positive element in our nation's history. Since universal education has traditionally been linked with the possibility of a democracy, the chance for increased higher education for a greater number of individuals has been regarded as an opportunity to train more citizens for playing a vital role in American life. However, this disproportionate growth has not merely been the result of an idealism on the part of those in power which seeks to involve more individuals in the nation's wealth and decision-making. Rather it has been a product of a changeover in our economy from one requiring large numbers of untrained workers to one demanding proportionately fewer workers, many of whom must now have technical-scientific training. Whether or not this increased education is merely the result of more complicated job tasks, however, is open to argument. A strong case can be made for the position that increased educational requirements serve the more important function of keeping youth out of an ever constricting labor market and that in many jobs employees with less training perform equally well or better than their colleagues with more education.[3] Be that as it may, American colleges, and especially junior colleges, have increasingly taken on the role, not only of providing the liberal arts background necessary for "free choice," but, subsidized by public taxes, of relieving corporations of the need to train their own labor force while absorbing surplus manpower.

California, having one of the most inclusive publicly-supported higher education systems, provides an excellent case study for the political and social ramifications of higher education's new role as a tax-supported training ground for entrance into political and economic life in the United States. Prior to 1959, California state colleges were supposedly prepared to accommodate any student in the top seventy percent of his graduating class; various campuses of the University of California were to accommodate the top 33 percent. However, financing for the state educational institutions was, and still is, provided by a tax system in which business and industry bear only twenty percent of the burden while household units through property and sales tax bear eighty percent. As a result of this inability to tap the real sources of wealth in the state, 1959 found higher education in California suffering from a financial crisis. And, in the period between 1960 and 1975 full-time enrollment in the state institutions was expected to triple. In an attempt to solve the problem, the state legislators authorized the University of California Board of Regents and the State Board of Education to draw up a Master Plan for higher education. Under the direction of Clark Kerr, this group arrived at a plan which focused on eliminating "duplication of efforts" in the state colleges and the university. Unfortunately, however, this was done through quantitatively eliminating enrollments by raising academic standards in the four-year institutions and channeling those not qualified into two-year junior colleges to be financed chiefly by local rather than state taxes. (This, of course, meant an additional tax, decided on by the communities.) Admission to the University of California was now restricted to the top twelve percent of the high school graduating class, while admission to state colleges was narrowed to the top 33 percent. Junior colleges were theoretically open to any high school graduate or anyone over 18. Hence, the reputation that California's educational system was more inclusive than ever.[4] And the junior colleges did grow by leaps and bounds. However, the Master Plan was followed by a drop in minority enrollment on most public campuses. At San Francisco State, for example, which is in a city whose public schools are nearly seventy percent students of color, the implementation of the Master Plan was followed by a decline in black enrollment from 17 to 4 percent.

If a racial bias seems to be reflected in the Master Plan, a class bias is even more obvious. Shapiro and Barlow, in an article which reviews the relationship between education, on the one hand, and race and class, on the other, report:

> Nearly two thirds of the students in the junior colleges have parents whose yearly income is less than $10,000. For the state college, the figure is precisely one half. And for the University of California, two thirds of the students come from family income brackets of over $10,000 a year, and for a majority, the figure is closer to $12,000. But income brackets under $10,000 pay over half the state's taxes; at least half of these taxpayers are thirdworld, among them 3-1/2 million chicanos. 1-1/2 million blacks, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos

> and American Indians. Yet the state spends twice as much money on the average university student as on the average state college student, and three times as much on the average state college student as on the average junior college student.[5]

Although junior colleges are supposed to specialize in lower division education and to be equipped with facilities for salvaging "late bloomers," the state colleges receive more money both for teaching salaries and total instructional expenditure in their own lower divisions. Faculty workload, salaries, and fringe benefits all show a clear differential between junior colleges, state colleges, and the state university. State colleges and universities have considerably more money for financial aid than do the junior colleges.

San Mateo County, an upper-middle-class suburban area in northern California about ten miles outside of San Francisco, has had a junior college since 1922 when one opened in the city of San Mateo to serve thirty-five students. The present site of the College of San Mateo on top of a hill overlooking the county and the nearby bay was secured in 1958, and through a $5.9 million bond issue the complex of spacious modern white one-story buildings surrounded by parking lots was completed in 1963 to accommodate 5,000 students. Since the advent of the Master Plan, an additional $12.8 million bond issue has been voted to provide two more junior college campuses in San Mateo County, each accommodating 8,000 students, and to expand the College of San Mateo to serve the same number. Because of a shortage of funds for completing the two campuses, a third bond was voted on last year, but this time turned down by the voters. (Some attribute this rejection to the community's resistance to supporting what they considered the growing activism on campus; others simply regard it as the logical result of over-taxation.)

Until 1966, when the College Readiness Program brought in a sudden influx of students of color from East Palo Alto and other nearby ghettos, the College of San Mateo served a maximum of 80 non-white students in any one year. Thus, even the large numbers of technical jobs available in the county were closed to non-whites, as were, of course, the more prestigious and highly trained occupations. Equally important during the recent years of high draft rates, while college attendance kept large numbers of white males out of the service, black and Mexican-American males had no such sanctuary to protect them from military service.

THE COLLEGE READINESS PROGRAM

Because the College Readiness Program was one of the earlier compensatory programs aimed at students of color, and because it sought to deviate even from those guidelines which had been established in the scattered projects already in existence, its leaders had little sense of the areas in which a program such as they envisioned would challenge the structure of the junior college, or how soon its goals would be considered threatening by the college administration. Seen from the viewpoint of more progressive members of the community, the story of the College Readiness Program is that of the struggle of a number of dedicated, dynamic personalities against a traditionalist system.

In the fall of 1965, the president of San Mateo College, Julio Bortolazzi, delivered an opening address in which he asked that the faculty work towards recruiting more students of color into the college. Out of 300 faculty members, Jean Wirth, an English teacher, was the only volunteer. Miss Wirth had just returned from a leave of absence after six years of teaching at the college. During her leave she had worked with Mills College girls who were practicing teaching in Oakland. Having seen the kinds of experiences which black students had in the school system had made her acutely aware that in most cases students had simply been turned off of formal education and so, of course, did not respond to the new "opportunities" provided by the junior colleges.

During the 1965-66 school year, Miss Wirth worked with a Stanford project aimed at raising the achievement of disadvantaged college students. Through this program she became acquainted with the residents of East Palo Alto, the "target" black community, and an area which logically might also have fed into the College of San Mateo. Concurrently, she established a tutorial program in her own office in the English Department for the eighty black students who were at the college. At the time almost all of these students were in non-academic programs.

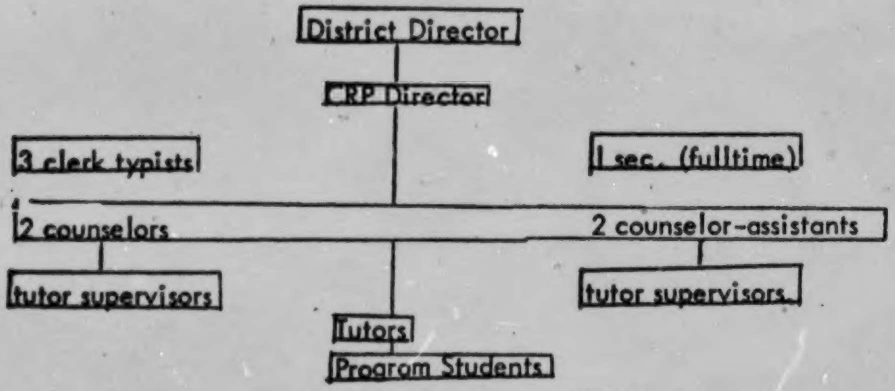
The College Readiness Program, with enthusiastic support from President Bortolazzi and a boost of $10,000 from the trustees, was oficially begun in the summer of 1966. Because the East Palo Alto black community where most of the recruiting was done had long ago decided that the College of San Mateo was a "white" institution, it was not easy to recruit students. Young people were approached in high schools, on street corners, in pool halls, and any other place a prospect might be found. Out of 150 interviewees, 39 young people - all but three of whom were black - finally agreed to come. Qualifications for admission into the program were unique: the candidate had to 1) be a person of color; 2) be poor; 3) have a high school grade average below C; 4) test badly; and 5) say in the first interview that he was not interested in going to college! The point of these qualifications was to reach those people who were always passed up in the traditional "compensatory education" programs, at times because they were considered "too high a risk," at other times because they lived beyond the vision of recruitment officers. As one might predict, most of these students had police records, and most were unemployed (and thus found the work-study pay of $1.50 an hour which the Program offered an adequately attractive incentive), although few expected to receive more than a summer's pay or a weird experience from the project.

It was the conviction of those organizing the program that the success of the students in it would depend on intensive personal relationships and an environment accepting of their past and present ways of living. The heart of the Program was the CRP Center, where Program students got together and relaxed from the tensions of acting "right" (or white) in the regular college classes. The Center was decorated by the students and contained posters of such men as Malcolm X. and Mao Tse-tung; listings of community activities were continually posted as were news items and activities involving Program students and their community. Inside the Center, students were encouraged to iron out complaints against teachers, administrators, or other officials; hold political discussions questioning any and all assumptions about the existing order of society; and, in general, work out their hostilities against the white, established world. Some have described the College Readiness Program as a "halfway house." This is apt in the sense that, while students were expected to conform to the behavior expected of them while on the college campus, inside the Center they were encouraged to live freely and express their preferred tastes and habits. However, the term also leads to the misconception that the world of the college was considered as an ideal, and "health" the total adjustment to it.

Educators speak glibly of raising the self-esteem of people of color. The College Readiness Program did not articulate this as a goal, since even the articulation of such a goal tends to imply condescension. Rather, students were considered -- and consider themselves -- worthwhile human beings who had been deprived of some of the necessary skills and deserved opportunities. The fact that a CRP student might only read at a fifth-grade level was not seen as a reason for limiting his educational or occupational goals; it was only viewed as a cause for acknowledging that hard work would have to follow.

From the start, Program students were given control over almost all phases of the College Readiness Program. This included recruitment, student and faculty selection and retention, tutoring, counseling and general program policy-making.

Perhaps the only "non-negotiable" structure of the Program was the system of classes and tutoring which Program students had to follow for one semester, or until their grades reached a C average. Each student was given a tutor; there were two students per tutor. This ratio changed only once, during the second summer when the ratio was one-to-one. Beginning with the second year, tutors were divided into groups under the direction of tutor-supervisors, who in turn were responsible to counselors. Counselors assisted students in program planning, budgeting, and any of the many other problems which they might encounter. During the first summer a large proportion of tutors and counselors were white activist students from the College of San Mateo, but this changed in successive semesters as CRP black and brown students moved up into these positions. As of the fall of 1968, the structure of the College Readiness Program looked as follows:



Each day during the summer, Program students attended one-and-a-half hours of a three-point academic course of their choosing (usually a subject in one of the social sciences, such as history, sociology, psychology or philosophy), a one-hour English class, one hour of counseling, an hour lunch break, and in the afternoon three hours of work for work study. After returning home at six for an hour dinner break, they were picked up again for three hours of tutoring.

Transportation to the College of San Mateo was a major problem. Most regular students, whether they live in the county or elsewhere, have their own cars. Public transportation to the college from East Palo Alto costs one dollar a day, takes more than an hour each way, and is extremely irregular. Thus, in order to make college attendance a viable alternative, a special bus had to be chartered to pick up Program students in East Palo Alto and surrounding neighborhoods and drive them to the college, returning them home again in the evening. For the first week of the summer 1966 program's existence, whenever a student had been negligent about meeting the bus in the morning, tutors went out in cars to pick them up. Once enrolled students realized they would end up at the college in any case, they made the buses and attendance was excellent throughout the summer. Although transportation is still not optimal, it continues to be taken care of through this daily bus system.

Before the summer session, and again before each of the following semesters, tutors and counselors were given a four-day in-training session at a retreat in the Napa Valley during which they were taught tutorial skills and helped to gain a general receptivity to the cultures of those students they would teach. In addition, tutors met every Monday afternoon throughout the summer from 1-5 and for one full day each weekend. They were also given readings and asked to attend various community activities.

The training was extensive and a great deal of effort was also expended in ensuring that the tutors knew and trusted each other and solidified as a group. Thus, cohesiveness was reinforced at all levels in the College Readiness Program

In contrast to the predicted high dropout rate, 36 of the 39 students completed the summer project. In the fall 34 returned as regular college students, although they were still part of the College Readiness Program. More surprising even than this high rate of return is that almost all of these 34 students arrived at registration with one or more friends. By the end of registration it was clear that 150 students of color had bought the idea of the College Readiness Program and wanted to enter junior college at San Mateo.

From the fall of 1966 to the fall of 1968, the College Readiness Program remained basically the same in its philosophy and goals, although at times its unexpected growth put strains on existing staff, decreased the number of staff meetings, and lowered counselor-student or tutor-student ratios. By the fall of 1967, the program had expanded to include 256 students receiving tutorial and counseling help, 87 tutors (some of whom were also receiving such assistance), and another 200 students who, although not officially registered with the Program, were actively involved in CRP activities. An additional number of students of color had entered the College of San Mateo because of its new reputation of being receptive to them, but had not become involved in the College Readiness Program.[6]

This number had again increased significantly by the fall semester of 1968. At this time there were 400 students directly associated with the College Readiness Program and 298 indirectly associated with it. This included 395 students, 277 tutors, and 26 tutor supervisors. An additional 308 students, not registered at the college during the fall, had been enrolled in the Program at some time in the past.

Although the College Readiness Program had begun with a primarily black student body, it had expanded to serve a significant number of other students of color during the intervening two years. In the fall of 1968, 229 white students were in the Program, 90% of whom were serving as tutors. There were 85 brown students in the Program, most of whom were directly related to it. There were also 29 Oriental students, half of whom were indirectly related to the Program, 8 Native Americans, and 26 other non-white students in the College Readiness Program. However, black students numbered 302 and comprised 45% of all students in the Program; they also represented the largest proportion of students using program services on a drop-in basis and not assigned to counselors.

Sex and age ratios have remained approximately the same throughout the Program's duration. Of the fall 1968 enrollment, sixty percent were men and forty percent women. About four out of five students were single - the proportion being somewhat lower among students directly associated with the Program. Nearly 75 percent of all students associated with the Program were under 21 years of age. Financial assistance needs were most prevalent among the 200 students in the 21-or-older age group.

In the fall of 1967, a year and a half after the Program's inception, an "Intergroup Relations Specialist," Robert Hoover, was hired to spend part time counseling, part time in relations with the minority community, and part time as assistant to the president. The events leading up to Hoover's appointment illustrate the ambivalence of the president, the college administration, and trustees to the goals of the Program. Miss Wirth had asked from the start for an Afro-American to serve as director of the Program, and her request had been supported by CRP students. The appointment of a white, middle-class woman must have seemed safer to college officials. The long-awaited decision to hire an Afro-American, when it came in the form of "Intergroup Relations Specialist," placed Robert Hoover second in title and pay to Miss Wirth. And even then, approval of Hoover, who had been endorsed by both Jean Wirth and Program students, was preceded by a request for a pool of 25 interviewees for the position, not an easy task but one which was rapidly fulfilled. However, despite the formal title, Hoover was unofficially considered the director by everyone in the College Readiness Program. When this position was finally made official in the fall of 1968, it was only because the new president, Dr. Ewigleben, wanted one person to be in charge; Hoover and Wirth would agree to a co-directorship but not to having only Miss Wirth in charge.

The background of Robert Hoover suggests all too easily that it was not lack of credentials nor extreme militance which had caused this reluctance to have him as head of the College Readiness Program. Hoover had received his degree from Pennsylvania State University and his teaching credentials from San Jose State College. At the time of his appointment to the College of San Mateo, Hoover was a trustee of the Ravenswood Elementary School District of Menlo Park and East Palo Alto and principal of the East Palo Alto Day School, a community-organized day school which was providing supplementary elementary and secondary education on Wednesday evenings and Saturday mornings to students in the community. If Hoover was considered a threat by the College of San Mateo, he was viewed as a man of reason in his own community. One of his main reasons for even coming to the College of San Mateo was to help to educate his own people for leadership in their communities. Hoover was set on reversing the traditional route of black B.A.'s and Ph.D.'s out of their community.

To combat this outward flow of talent and resources, Hoover felt that it was essential to keep students in constant touch with their neighborhoods all the time they attended college. One of the more notable projects established under Robert Hoover while he was director of the College Readiness Program was one called the "Teen Project." This project ran in both the summer of 1967 and the summer of 1968 and consisted of a scheme whereby thirty College Readiness students tutored three hundred and fifty East Palo Alto high school students in the morning who, in turn, taught preschoolers in the afternoon. Program students were also kept active in community issues. Their role as recruiters for the College Readiness Program gave them the additional link with high school age youth. Thus attendance at the College of San Mateo became for CRP students a well-integrated life of standard academic instruction, special cultural orientation programs, and community work. It was this combination which made the Program increasingly successful from one point of view, but which seems to have made it frightening to the college and helped to make its position increasingly tenuous on campus.

THE ACADEMIC SUCCESS OF CRP STUDENTS

Projects such as the College Readiness Program have by definition two goals: 1) to increase the number of Third World students in the college, and 2) to ensure that, once admitted, these students will be given the necessary financial, emotional, and academic backing to succeed within the general framework of the college. While compensatory education programs have recently helped to highlight the need for changes in curriculum throughout the university, including a breakdown of the walls between the university and the surrounding commmunity, most programs have run on the assumption that, except for remedial courses, their students would have to accept and succeed in the standard college curriculum. In fact, students have generally been wary of receiving non-standard curricula and in such projects as SEEK, the lack of regular college credits for classes attended has led to protest by students. At the College of San Mateo, with the exception of reading labs and a number of "non-transferable" English courses used also by many non-academic students (and generally shunned by CRP students) the school did not offer any compensatory courses for this new group of students. Thus, though one may evaluate the Program using perhaps even more significant criteria such as increased political and social awareness or the development of the self, a review of the number of students who remained in the college and the grades they received is a good indicator of their success as judged by the more traditional college standards.

Although most educators within and outside the college have been openly enthusiastic about the academic achievement of CRP students, only one comprehensive study exists which documents college achievement by Program students. Completed in the fall of 1968 by Frank Pearce, Director of Research and the present Dean of Instruction at the College of San Mateo, the study covers the period of summer 1966 through the fall of 1967. The investigation was updated in greatly abbreviated form in December, 1968 to include the 1967-68 year; wherever possible. this more recent data is also included in the following summary. It should be kept in mind that the trend of the Program's results was upward, and that none of the data reported below takes into account the summer of 1968, or fall 1968 of the Program.

According to Pearce, by the fall 1967 semester, there had been a total of 256 students in the College Readiness Program, of whom 35 percent were no longer attending the day school at the time. Of those students who had withdrawn, fifteen had completed 60 credits (received the A.A. degree) or transferred to a four-year college, sixteen were attending the night school and so were no longer regular participants in the College Readiness Program, which consisted largely of day-time activities, and only 59 students or 23 percent of the total had dropped out of the Program and the college without having come to a normal academic termination. This percentage of actual dropouts is in sharp contrast to a rate of nearly ninety percent among non-white students before the onset of the Program and an attrition rate of 75 percent among low achieving students in most junior colleges in California[7] and an (unofficial) attrition rate of 50 percent among regular students at the College of San Mateo.

Extensive case histories were kept of all CRP students, and a review of them indicates that even this attrition rate does not reflect academic difficulties of the students. Out of the 59 (i.e. 23 percent) who can be considered "dropouts," over one-fourth left to go to work because of serious financial problems, nearly a fifth left because of "family problems" or "personal difficulties," eight percent were called into the armed forces, and 20 percent or only 15 students gave academic difficulties as their reasons for leaving. (The reasons for withdrawal of the remainder are not known). Pearce notes in his report that "...it would appear that the withdrawal rate could be reduced 23 to 17 percent simply by increasing the financial support for students."[8]

The College Readiness Program has made a point of seeking out those students who have been excluded from most college programs because of the exitless tunnel of the tracking system. Although under the directorship of Hoover and Wirth it was antithetical to the philosophy of the Program to select students on the basis of proven academic capabilities, Pearce looked at high school grades and standardized test scores to see if, ex post facto, these traditional indicators could be said to have any predictive value in determining which students would do well in the college. A review of the SCAT scores of the 256 students showed that approximately three-fourths had scored at or below the 25th percentile, and that their quantitative subtest scores tended to be higher than quantitative ones. Ten percent of the Program students scored in the 50th percentile or above on the SCAT. However, the Standard Deviation on the total SCAT for College Readiness students was 21.1 as compared with 12.1 for all College of San Mateo students. Pearce concludes that " the variance is so great that the reliability of the SCAT for Program students is practically non-existent." [9]

Of the 87 tutors who had been part of the Program and were drawn largely from the same group of students, 57 percent made a total score at or above the 50th percentile, with 76 percent receiving at or above the 50th percentile on the verbal subtest and 39 percent making similar scores on the quantitative section.[10]

Comparing College Readiness students' SCAT scores with grade point averages in college, Pearce found that for those who scored at or above the 10th percentile on the SCAT verbal subtest, there was an 80 percent probability that they would earn less than a 2.0 grade point average. However, predictions were not made for other groups.[11]

Another common predictor of college achievement is high school grade averages. College Readiness students had earned a mean of 1.9 grade points on a 4-point scale in high school (some had not completed the full number of years); two-thirds had earned a high school GPA between 1.4 and 2.4. This is in comparison to a mean of 2.4 among those CRP students who had become tutors, and a similar mean grade point average among College of San Mateo students not in the Program. The cumulative grade-point average for College Readiness students at the College of San Mateo in 1967 was 1.6, measured on a 4-point system. The mean GPA for student tutors was 2.3.[12] In the fall of 1968 the median for CRP students was 1.99 and and for tutors 2.44. [13]

A comparison of high school and college grades of Program students in the fall of 1967 showed a low correlation coefficient of .36. Among students with a 1.0 to 1.9 high school GPA, approximately one-half maintained the same average in college, one-fourth dropped and one-fourth increased their GPA. Forty-two percent of the students who had maintained a C average or above in high school were able to do the same in college, and 29 percent of the students who had earned less than a C average were able to earn a C average or better in college.[14]

Again, however, high school GPA's were more predictive of tutors' college achievement than they were for other Program students. "Among tutors with 1.0 to 1.9 GPA, it was found that approximately one-third showed no increase, while two-thirds advanced one cumulative grade point. Two-thirds of the tutors with 2.0 to 2.9 high school grade point average maintained the same college GPA, while 16% went down one cumulative grade point and 16% went up one cumulative grade point."[15]

More Program students reached the minimum "acceptable" level of C or better in the fall 1967 semester than in the summer 1967 semester. However, this was accompanied by a drop in the "good to outstanding" levels of B or better.

> . . . the grades or program students during both summers were approximately one-third A and B grades, 40% C grades during the first summer and 23% C grades during the second summer, and about 15-20% of the grades were F and W. During the subsequent fall semester, the proportion of A and B grades decreased by one-half, and the C and D grades tended to remain constant, but the number of F and W grades declined substantially during the following spring semester. During the subsequent fall semester 1967, the proportion of D or better grades tended to remain constant, the F grades increased, and the number of W grades decreased somewhat.[16]

Because of the large number of English classes, the small enrollment per class, and the fact that 95 percent of the College Readiness students took one form of English or another, Pearce isolated the grades earned by Program students in the various English classes offered by the college. Students scoring below the 25th percentile on the verbal subtest of the SCAT were usually placed in English 50A (a remedial course entitled

"Preparatory Composition"); and those who scored between the 51st and 75th percentile were placed in either the non-credit English A or IA ("Reading and Composition," a course offering transferable credits); and those scoring above the 75th percentile were placed in English IA.

In general, CRP students received fewer A and B grades than the proportion of A and B grades earned by all College of San Mateo students. However, "the differences between Program students and all students in the percentage of C grades for classes in English A and 50A were insignificant."[17] Students serving as tutors received much higher English grades, irrespective of the classes they took. Fifteen percent had taken 50A, 49 percent English A, and 35 percent English IA; combining grades received in these classes, approximately 70 percent of the tutors had received C grades or better in English.[18] Moreover, even tutors who scored in the low percentiles on the SCAT verbal subtest were as likely to receive an A grade as they were a B or C.[19] This may indicate the benefits to the tutors of having to instruct other students in English.

Until a special Reading Laboratory was organized in the summer of 1968 by two CRP-involved teachers, the regular Reading Laboratory was avoided by all but 20 percent of the CRP students. Of the small proportions taking the regular Reading Lab, results were insignificant in terms of total GPA earned. "The proportion of students who earned under 1.0 GPA and had taken the Reading Lab was three to ten times lower than the proportion of students who did not have the Reading Lab or failed to complete it." However, ". . .the Reading Laboratory experience clearly helps the student who is earning less than a 1.5 GPA to move closer to the 2.0 average, but the grade point averages of students who earned above 1.5 average cannot be clearly related to their participation in the Reading Laboratory."[20] Forty percent of those whose vocabulary and/or reading comprehension was less than an eighth grade level when they began the lab finished at the same level, and 60 percent advanced approximately one grade level.[21] Although there is no data on the results of the Program-organized Reading Laboratory, students were enthusiastic about it, claiming that they did learn how to read.

Pearce notes, as have others commenting on students in contemporary education programs, that CRP students tended to select social science majors. Almost all CRP students entered the liberal arts program. In 1967, less than three percent were in the vocational-technical areas, even if they had started there before entering the College Readiness Program. This percentage was slightly higher at the time of the December 1968 survey, however; at the time over six percent of the students had selected vocational-technical programs.[22]

This increase in the percentage of students entering non-academic programs, even though slight, indicates one of the main areas of tension surrounding the College Readiness Program. It may be that the few extra students choosing vocation-technical fields did so because of a clear sense of their abilities. On the other hand, there is a sense of increasing pressure from the college administration to channel College Readiness students into these non-academic areas. Whether this is partially due to a levelling philosophy which views no one group as deserving "better" than the other, or whether it is due to real pressures from outside groups such as the State Board of Education which in turn is responding to industry, is hard to say. Certainly, it is true that as the junior colleges now stand one of their main functions is to provide the training grounds for industry. And, despite the Master Plan's promise of unlimited access to higher education, junior colleges cannot afford to become totally academic institutions.

While it would not seem disastrous to the American economy to allow 500 or so students of color in a single college to enter academic fields, and might, in fact, even help to keep the labor supply in check, there has been a growing tendency to channel CRP students away from academic programs at the College of San Mateo. Many students expect that in the future CRP students will be actively counselled to choose one of the many vocational-technical areas of study.

FINANCIAL RESOURCES AND FINANCIAL AID

Junior colleges in California, as elsewhere, operate under a tighter budget than any other state institution of higher education. The College of San Mateo, which maintains the highest salary schedule of any junior college in the state, had an operating cost of $13,401,409 (not including capital gains expenditures) in 1968. Approximately 12,000 day and evening students were served by 295 equivalent full-time day teachers and 368 evening college faculty. The annual cost per unit of average daily attendance for 1967-68, without transportation or financial aid, was estimated at $634.67. Most of the college's financial resources come from district-raised funds, which support not only the College of San Mateo but also Canada Junior College and the still unopened Skyline Junior College.

The College Readiness Program at San Mateo is considered one of the least expensive remedial programs for Third World students anywhere in the country. However, the cost of the Program has nearly doubled each year and has consistently gone over even increased budgets. Full-year budgets have been mainly for staff and for the district's share of work-study programs. In 1966-67, $10,000 was budgeted and $29,851 spent for the Program. In 1967-68, the cost of the College Readiness Program was $53,300, as opposed to a budget of $33,430. In 1968-69, the expenditure was $103,638; and the budget request for 1969-70 is approximately $180,000. Budgets are based on a predicted cost of approximately $500 per Program student per year. Despite administrative resistance to the Program, administrative staff and trustees are adamant in stating that its operation has not been a financial drain on the college. This is because amounts over the budget seem to have been raised by the Program itself, and district sources have never had to be tapped.

Financial aid above and beyond work-study monies provided by the state comes through federal funds: National Defense Student Loans (NDSL), Federal Insured Student Loans (FISL), and Economic Opportunity Grants (EOG). Since EOG is a matching program, however, additional financial assistance is needed from the college's private resources.

In the summer of 1968, federal financial aid allocations in the state of California were cut by forty percent. When $150,000 of EOG matching monies were promised the College of San Mateo to be used for the 1968-69 academic year, CRP staff and students were anxious to start a fund-raising campaign. The trustees' delay in appointing a citizens' committee needed to seek private contributions - probably due partially to their desire not to have any fund-raising project compete with the bond issue needed for Cañada and Skyline Colleges, and perhaps partially to their general antipathy to the Program* -

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*The official reason given by the trustees for their delay was that they first had to conduct an audit into why funds had been used up during the summer. However, the audit, once completed, revealed no "misfeasance or malfeasance". At the same time, several changes were suggested in the emergency loan fund, and in order to keep closer track of funds a proposal called for all CRP mail to go through the Dean of Student Personnel's office, "checks removed and mail forwarded."

placed the financial aid resources of the college in serious trouble. By December of 1968, when a citizens' committee was finally appointed, some 500 students had received $352,451 in financial aid (an average of less than $700), but 130 had been turned away for lack of funds and another 500 had had to drop out of school altogether because of financial difficulties. This 500 was, of course, made up almost totally of Third World students directly counselled by or affiliated with the College Readiness Program.

One of the most pronounced areas of contention between college administration and Program members has been the financial aid office. Both CRP personnel and administration have been increasingly mistrustful and dissatisfied about the manner in which existing financial resources have been allocated and used. With the rapid growth of the College Readiness Program, the financial aid office had become understaffed in addition to being underfunded. During the past year, there have been three changeovers in financial aid officers, only the last of whom is a person of color. Interestingly, the present officer, the first non-white to hold this position, is a Mexican-American who was hired on a trial basis during the summer of 1968 to complete a tripartite directorship with Robert Hoover and Jean Wirth, and who was given the job of financial aid officer after he did not "work out" with the students. Each changeover in financial aid staff has been accompanied by the perennial question of where and how the money has gone, at the same time as College Readiness students have felt increasingly that their financial needs have not been met.

It should be remembered that CRP students come from low income families, most are not being supported by their families, and a number - both married and unmarried - have families of their own to maintain. Part or full-time work on the side is difficult to find. Not only is work scarce in surrounding communities, particularly for non-whites, but the college is isolated from commercial and industrial centers, with public transportation undependable and expensive. Thus work-study grants, which simultaneously require a full credit load of 12-1/2 units, scholarships and, to a lesser extent, loans, provide the only realistic means of enabling many of these students to attend college. The present financial aids officer estimates that as much as $2,400 may be needed to get one student through a year of college; this is in contrast to top assistance for white students, which has usually come to no more than $1,200.

Given these very real needs, it is still common opinion among the administration and trustees as well as the more conservative segment of the college community that College Readiness students have been out to drain the college's resources and have been quite adept at gaining far more than is their "rightful share." Unfortunately, this area of discussion is tinged with class values and racial prejudices which are fueled by a variety of situations. For example, in the past financial allotments were often given in the form of "emergency grants," which meant that a student could not expect a certain amount during the course of the academic year, but rather was left to his own resourcefulness in getting as much as possible out of the financial aid office. Under this system it is rumored that one or two students managed to accumulate as much as $5,000 in a year. This "emergency grants" system also helped to perpetuate the traditional generalization of the middle-class that low-income people cannot budget. The financial office staff spent much energy wondering how they might teach these students to use their money "wisely" so that they would not have to come continually for funds.

The Protestant Ethic also seems to have played an important part in the attitudes of the more conservative members of the college community toward the use of financial aid by Program students. A small number of black students had expensive cars, which, for those interested in finding fault, were parked conspicuously behind the CRP student center. It is said that a few students had been so blatant as to come openly to the financial aid officer for money for car payments. (It is an ironic truth that the College of San Mateo is surrounded by huge parking lots filled with all kinds of cars, from old Chevrolets to extravagant sports models, but, of course, these cars are not owned by "indigent" students.)

A discussion between the author and the president of the board of trustees of the college, Francis W. Pearson, revealed the following solution to the financial problems of College Readiness students. According to Mr. Pearson, who is an accountant, these students should attend the College of San Mateo for a few months, long enough to get vocational training. Then once they had a full-time job, if they still wanted to go to college for an academic degree, they could attend the night school. It was Mr. Pearson's contention, however, that academic and professional training were unrealistic expectations for these students. The unspoken correlate, one suspects, was that after a brief try at this fancy stuff they would realize where they belong.

Because of the obvious difficulties of the "emergency fund" system, and the assumption of the president and his colleagues that the most militant students were receiving the most financial aid, a new program of financial aids management has been instituted. According to the new system, all students needing financial aid and living away from home will receive $150 a month, while all students needing financial aid and living at home will receive $100 a month. While this system is more equitable from the disperser's point of view, it will probably result in serious difficulties among those receiving the funds. It is also questionable whether such a means of dispersing financial aid does not violate the individual "need" basis under which federal grants for financial assistance are supposed to be allocated.

THE COLLEGE READINESS PROGRAM AND THE COLLEGE

Before going on to an historical account of the particular events which led up to and were included in the dissolution of the original College Readiness Program, it should be useful to analyze the various sources of tension which existed between the Program and the College. One can attribute the violence on campus and the dissolution of the College Readiness Program as it was known to a number of causes, some structural, some economic, and some having to do with individual personalities. An examination of these causes is particularly interesting as it reveals that what may appear as "weak spots" in retrospect can also be sources of strength during a program's development. Generalizations and possible implications can be drawn from what happened at San Mateo and transferred to other college situations. Hopefully, they will be useful in preventing similar disasters.

I. For the College Readiness Program to have been what it was, it needed the loyalty and hard work of staff, students, and community members. Within the context of the college, however, three people can be said to have been the pivotal points in the Program: Jean Wirth, Robert Hoover, and Julio Bortolazzi. Jean Wirth acted as the "nutrient" of the Program; both before and after Hoover was made director, she gave the program a totality of her professional and personal self rarely found in academic circles. Her home was always open to students, a large proportion of her salary went to posting bail, paying legal fees, and paying for whatever else the students needed in order to stay in school. Robert Hoover brought to the Program an identifiable sense of purpose. Coming from their community, he linked students at each point to the goals and needs of their own people. President Bortolazzi provided the Program with a strong administrative backing. Although he was often ambivalent about the Program's goals, there was a sense of trust between him and Program individuals, and Robert Hoover and Jean Wirth felt that they could count on his support at crucial moments. With the dedication of these three extraordinarily strong individuals, the College Readiness Program maintained its dynamic growth despite apathy and even resistance on the part of more conservative members of the college and its community.

On the negative side, concentration of responsibility in the hands of these three people implied two possible sources of difficulty: 1) that without them at the helm the Program would probably not be able to continue, at least along the lines set by them; and 2) that significant individuals within the university and community were not as involved in the Program as they might have been with less dynamic leaders, and would therefore be less likely to offer support in times of need.

2. One important group not involved in the College Readiness Program was the faculty senate. Although the faculty at the College of San Mateo remained out of touch with CRP activities, this was not due to its being a group inactive in decision-making. Rather, faculty participation at the College is effected through a strict committee system organized along such divisions as the Committee on Instruction, the Committee on Personnel, etc. Because the College Readiness Program did not fit into the spheres of any of the existing faculty committees (and no move was made by the president or CRP staff to introduce it into any one committee). the Program functioned outside of these democratic channels. This had the result of giving the Program far more freedom than it might have had had it been accountable to a faculty committee. On the other hand, it also resulted in the alienation of CSM faculty from the operation of the Program.

With the exception of a half dozen faculty members who were involved in tutoring or other activities, and two members of the administration who were sympathetic to and remained in close contact with the Program, there was virtually no communication between the College Readiness Program and the college at large.

3. Orientations and values within the College Readiness Program were at times antithetical to those of the college at large. This can be seen most clearly through two issues: the type of course work chosen by CRP students, and the socio-political orientation of the Program. Because many Program students had suffered from the tracking system and had had their fill of trade and industrial courses, they were justifiably suspicious of any such training offered by the College. Common experience with hiring policies of such industries as the airline companies in the area had convinced students that even aeronautic training did not lead to open-ended jobs. Courses which led to no jobs were in machine shops, tool and dye-making and drafting. But even worse than this failure to lead to jobs. vocational-technical departments at the College of San Mateo had long been known for their resistance to training students of color. Most resistant to accepting non-white students were the health-related courses - dental assisting and the 2-year nursing programs. It was said that instructors didn't like the students' appearance or language. The entrance requirements were always prohibitive, and if a student qualified through IQ or grades, she was often eliminated for "having the wrong attitude." Thus, in a college in which large numbers of middle-class white students focused on vocational-technical training, low-income minority students avoided such courses, and threw their energies to subjects leading towards transfer to another college and a B.A. degree.

The socio-political orientation of the College Readiness Program apparently did not cause any overt difficulty with non-Program individuals in and around the college until the fall of 1968. However, as student demands, sit-ins, and a strike set these students apart as a source of disruption, the attitude toward them as "revolutionaries" was extended to the community work they had been doing. At this time, such phrases as "revolution or education" (a common phrase of the president) became prominent, and it was felt by the more conservative members of the college and surrounding communities that Program students, particularly because of their poorer academic backgrounds, should not dilute their energies through "community action."

4. The lack of financial resources has been a threat to the Program from its inception, although it did not cause a crisis until last fall. The cutback in federal financial aid allocations in the state of California, on the one hand, and the failure of the two bond elections, on the other, put funds for the College Readiness Program in competition with other priorities of the district. Moreover, defeat of the second bond issue was partially blamed on the College Readiness Program by such groups as the board of trustees, who felt that these students had both "actively campaigned against the second bond," (supposedly because they objected to the building priorities to be given the money) and had made passage of the bill next to impossible simply through the "activist" reputation which they had given the college. Home owners in San Mateo county are taxed at a rate of 35¢ on every $100 of their owned property. Understandably, most feel strained by this tax and are particularly resistant to the idea of paying taxes to support any group which might pose a threat to their social and financial security.

5. A problem which has probably influenced all others is that of culture conflict, or, from another point of view, racism. The first sign of difficulty appeared quite early in the Program's history. In the fall of 1966, the College Readiness Program had been given temporary headquarters in the bomb shelter under the administration building. While the CRP Center was thus centrally located on campus, it was also next to the offices of buildings and grounds personnel and had the character -- with its lively posters and

informal atmosphere - of being an intruder amidst the more serious business of atomic protection and maintenance. Moreover, buildings and grounds personnel had to walk through the Center to get to their offices, which provided a continuing source of tension for both groups.

Around exam time of the first semester this tension reached a crisis. One of the secretaries had been in the habit of talking loudly about her fear of being raped each time before she entered the Center on her way to her own office, after which, according to Program people, she would walk provocatively past the group of CRP staff and students and then lock herself in her office. When a visitor came to see her boss one day, she would not open the door, believing the knock to be that of a CRP student. Finally, a student made a lewd remark about what she was doing inside. Hearing this, the girl opened the door in outrage. In the next few days a petition was circulated among secretaries of all departments in the college asking for the removal of the Program. According to CRP staff, signatures of the secretaries were largely consonant with the overt or covert views of their bosses. Equally interesting, however, is the fact that secretaries -- an occupational group which very rarely organizes even for increased salaries -- had gotten together on the issue of the College Readiness Program.

The result of this petition was the immediate transfer of the CRP Center from the administration building to much better quarters in the Student Center. A large section of the cafeteria was walled off with two small offices created for the directors. However, the need for more space became clear later in the year when the Program had grown tremendously and there was hope of adding to the staff. In the fall of 1968, the Center was once again transferred, this time to the Horticulture Building on the outskirts of the campus. However, even here the Center and Program students were not entirely free from the critical eyes of the college, nor was their isolation conducive to the goal of integration verbalized by the college at a later period. There was much covert criticism of the decor, which was finally destroyed by policemen during their stay on campus. Student cars were watched with an eye to conspicuous consumption among black students. The view of the new president, Robert Ewigleben, that the Center was "hostile territory," is probably not unique to him, although he has never shown support for the Program. Considering that the Center had been relegated to this lonely outpost on campus and that a strong attempt had been made by participants to develop cohesiveness and dignity in the face of increasing adversity, this hostility may have existed -- particularly in relation to official administrators. Most college students not involved in the Program as tutors, tutor-supervisors or counselors simply never entered the area. It was said that before the crisis few non-Program students knew more than that the College Readiness Program existed. This lack of communication between the College Readiness and general students cannot be seen as due only to the Program's philosophy of developing a unity within itself. Students at the College of San Mateo, like those in most junior colleges, have tended to be apolitical; few have used the college for more than the expediency of gaining their trade or the credits necessary for transfer to a four-year college.

It was these, and perhaps other less identifiable, tensions between the College Readiness Program and the College of San Mateo which put the Program on shaky ground when the new president assumed his duties in the fall of 1968. However, these tensions in themselves might never have led to a crisis if a number of other coincidences had not intervened.

DISSOLUTION AND REORGANIZATION

The events of the fall of 1968 can be briefly summarized as: 1) the presentation of demands by Program students, 2) failure by the administration to act on any of the demands, 3) a series of violences perpetrated by students on and off campus, 4) the closing of the campus followed by its reopening under "full police protection," 5) the "reassignment" of Robert Hoover and Jean Wirth to other duties, off campus, and 6) the general deterioration and dissolution of the College Readiness Program as it had existed for two and a half years. However, even these events occurred after a series of other unfortunate incidents had taken place.

The first marked change in the status of the College Readiness Program occurred with the changeover of the presidency at the onset of the school year. It is not clear to what extent President Julio Bortolazzi's acceptance of the post of District Superintendent and President of San Joaquin Delta Junior College was motivated by a simple desire for a new setting. Bortolazzi had been president of San Mateo for twelve years, a substantial period for a president to stay at any one college, and it has been said that he did not realize that the Program would not be able to continue without him. On the other hand, the choice of the new president (made by the trustees and ratified by the faculty), indicates that an extremely different kind of president may have been wanted. This leads one to wonder to what extent President Bortolazzi's resignation from the College of San Mateo was prompted by the changing climate of the college community.

Whether or not one can regard Bortolazzi's withdrawal from the college scene as merely an unfortunate coincidence, the new president brought to the office a distinctly new manner of dealing with situations both on and off campus. President Ewigleben himself describes Bortolazzi as "the last of a dying breed," and sees himself as a "democrat," responsive to those around him, and also able to delegate power. It is important to note that there are a number of similarities in the philosophy and behavior of President Ewigleben and other college presidents who have assumed posts during the last two years of student activism.

To College Readiness staff and students, one of the first signs of change was the difficulty they encountered in trying to see the new president. President Bortolazzi's door had always been open to faculty and students; President Ewigleben often could not be reached, and scheduled meetings between him and Program staff or students were delayed numerous times before they occurred. Equally discouraging to communication, it was felt that, once in the meeting, the president could not be pinned down on any issue. Whereas President Bortolazzi had often said "no" but then had changed his mind, President Ewigleben remained aloof from all discussion or commitment. (This difficulty in receiving a direct statement of a position from the president has apparently not been restricted to Program individuals, but has been experienced by other student groups on campus, as well as community organizations.)

The lack of communication between the new president and CRP participants was exacerbated by a political change which occurred at the same time as he assumed office. Because of the opening of the Canada campus and the prospective opening of Skyline College, a new position of San Mateo Junior College District Superintendent, separate from that of the college president, was created. This separation of the presidency from the office of superintendent put a new distance between the college and the board of trustees. More important, although a superintendent had been elected, he was not able to assume the new post until December. In the meantime the three college presidents maintained the position on a rotating basis. Thus a good deal of President Ewigleben's energies during the first weeks of his new office and the new school year were consumed by district-level activities and problems. Finally, the expansion of the San Mateo

Junior College system was accomplished through the use of several College of San Mateo faculty and administration members who had been relatively supportive to the College Readiness Program. Their removal from the scene left disastrous breaks in the lines of communication from CRP members to administration and the board of trustees. Amidst this dispersion of administrative leadership, the Program was suffering from a particularly serious crisis in staffing and funds. Four counselors had been requested to take care of the nearly 800 students now involved in the Program. These had been hired, but with the students' rejection of one of them (the man who became Financial Aids Director), and the president's refusal to replace him with someone more acceptable to them, two were left. Jean Wirth and Bob Hoover were given the task of helping with the counseling, training tutors, and teaching faculty, meeting daily with the administration on racial issues, giving frequent talks in the community, and serving on a state-wide committee on the disadvantaged. Finally, while Hoover was to play a major role in the Urban Coalition, Miss Wirth was to make periodic trips to Washington and serve as consultant to other schools.

The cut in federal allocations to California meant drastic reductions in work-study payments and student loans. And the financial aids officer of the preceding year had been one of the College of San Mateo staff members to take a post in another college, so that CRP students were confronted by a new officer who knew little more than the fact that the college was short of funds. (Throughout the first months the trustees continued to delay appointing a Citizen's Committee to raise matching funds for the $150,000 from Washington.)

It was difficulties such as these which helped to give rise to the series of demands which Program students presented to the administration on October 11, 1968. And it was these same factors, centering largely around the changes in the lines of power in the San Mateo Junior College District, which continued to exacerbate tensions throughout the fall semester.

The most obvious additional impetus was the situation at San Francisco State. The two colleges lie some twenty miles apart, and there has been regular communication between Third World students in them since the beginning of the trouble at San Francisco State in 1967. The eleven demands presented at the College of San Mateo largely duplicate those demands presented at San Francisco. Although such a duplication can be attributed to similar pre-conditions equally well as to the simple fact of communication between students, the latter interpretation is the more popular among the large numbers of subscribers to the "conspiracy" or "outside agitator" theory.

Not surprisingly, College Readiness student demands centered around the three following issues: changes in the composition of the financial aids office and in the allocation of financial assistance; increased funds for tutors and counselors in the CRP; and a specific Third World curriculum open to Program as well as general students. These demands were reviewed by the administration as well as the faculty senate on October 16-18. However, despite senate recommendations to act on a number of the demands, nothing was done toward this end. Two months later, after the college had "blown up," the board of trustees emphasized to public sources that some of the demands would have involved infractions of state rules had they been met, others could not be met simply because of inadequate funds, while still others -- such as the demand for a new area of studies -- could not be decided on without approval from the State Board of Education. However, these objections were not expressed at the time.

The next overt move by the administration (backed by the board of trustees) was the suspension of Robert Hoover from his position as CRP director on November 1. The ostensible reason for this action was the fact that Hoover, in permitting an activist counselor to remain in the Program, had defied the order of the president, who had wanted the young man removed and had asked to be informed should this counselor "appear on campus." It should be remembered in this context that CRP guidelines gave Program staff and students total control over the hiring and firing of personnel. Moreover, the counselor was a volunteer, so that the hiring and firing was in no way part of the jurisdiction of the college. Hoover's response to the president had been that while he would not stand in the way of any action that the college might take, the counselor was serving the Program with dedication and that he could not remove him until Program members became dissatisfied with his services. The president's suspension of Hoover was rescinded three days later, largely due to a request by the governing council of the academic senate.

Relations between the administration, the trustees, and the College Readiness Program representatives continued to worsen throughout November as students dropped out because of the lack of financial aid. On November 28, someone set off a small bomb outside President Ewigleben's office, and a number of small fights broke out. Several students were suspended, a number expelled, and criminal charges brought against a few during the next weeks. The college existed in a state of high tension.

On December 11, the board of trustees ruled that out-of-district students would no longer be eligible for the College Readiness Program. This ruling in effect eliminated a group of Mexican-American students from San Francisco and

Oriental students from Oakland which the Program had planned to bring in. Funding for twenty Native American students already recruited had been pretty much guaranteed from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other groups. The new ruling meant that these students could not come, no matter what funding was provided. No one in the College Readiness Program had known about there being such a proposal or that it would go before the Board. Since Program members considered recruitment of minority students one of the main goals of the College Readiness Program, and were attempting to increase the number of students of two poorly represented minority groups through the move. they felt that it was their right to be consulted on such changes. On the other hand, the trustees responded that decisions regarding geographical boundaries to be served by the college were not in the domain of students and that they had had no obligation to inform the College Readiness Program of the change.

On December 12, a strike was called in support of the still unmet eleven demands and to protest the president's suspension and expulsion of over thirty students of color during the preceding weeks of tension. On the 13th a rally was called at noon by a CRP student and leader of the Black Student Union. Over 1,000 College of San Mateo students attended this rally, which ended in 150 students marching through the campus, breaking a number of windows in select buildings and injuring eight students and four faculty members. (Although the march made its way through the entire campus, the only buildings where damage occurred were those housing the vocational-technical sciences. In the vocational-technical buildings, occupants attempted to stop the marchers by force, while in the other buildings faculty and students made way for them to pass peacefully through.)

Not surprisingly, it has been said by individuals of all attitudes that the violence on the campus was instigated by outside agitators, largely from San Francisco State, who came to the rally armed with metal pipes and wooden canes. Out of some 500 activists on campus during the rally, police reports identify only ten College of San Mateo students in the actual scenes of violence. However, the point seems almost irrelevant in the light of the reprisals taken. Within half an hour, police had been called on campus and the college was shut down for the day. On the following Monday when it reopened, it was under the occupation of 300 police officers. Moreover, both Jean Wirth and Robert Hoover had been removed from their positions in the College Readiness Program and prohibited from entering the college campus. (Miss Wirth was later "reassigned" to a full-time job as an English teacher, which she refused. Hoover was given the job of Assistant District Planner of Minority Programs, a position which he recognized had only nominal power, but which he assumed for several months while waiting to enter his present post as full-time employee of Nairobe College.)

The occupation of the College of San Mateo by the police seems to have done more to destroy the College Readiness Program than any other type of "security" measure might have done. First, police established check points at the entrance to the college. and, although they did not bother white students, made searches of all cars carrying students of color. In this way, a number of arrests were made on the basis of old warrants which had never been served. Unpaid traffic violations, charges of possessing narcotics, or resisting arrest -- these are part of the records of most young adults in urban ghettos, and the College of San Mateo had been aware of the arrest records of these students since the beginning of the College Readiness Program. However, on the recommendation of the CRP directors most students stayed away from campus. The fact that the remaining rooms of the Horticulture Building were given over for police headquarters, so that police were in and out of the Center all day, had also discouraged many from going to the college. In the next weeks the Dean of Student Services, a man with notable sympathy for the Program amidst an increasingly unsympathetic group of colleagues, was given the role of temporary director. But he maintained his directorship over only an occasional white tutor who came around to see what was happening. Without the leadership of Wirth and Hoover, morale was so low that it looked to all concerned as if there would never again be a College Readiness Program.

On the Friday before Christmas vacation, a general faculty convocation was called. At this meeting a motion was made and passed unanimously to the effect that the action taken by the president was necessary in view of the circumstances and that he was supported in his attempt to protect the campus. This motion was probably, at least in part, an emotional response to the three injured teachers attending the meeting and to the fourth who was still in the hospital with a scalp injury. But, despite unanimous support given to the president on the subject of police protection, the faculty stood divided in their attitudes toward the College Readiness Program. At most, a dozen faculty members had been involved in the Program in any manner during the two and a half years of its existence. Another 25-30 had been and continued to be sympathetic to its goals, while an equal number were violently against it. Amidst jeering and shouting, motions to support the Program were made, amended and rejected. Eventually one was passed stating that the faculty "support College Readiness Students." Thus, by omission, faculty disclaimed any support for the goals of the Program or for its leaders.

Fortunately, feeling for the students alone was strong enough to bring about a general liberalization of academic standards in the next months. Already during Christmas vacation a number of faculty members began to attempt to assist students in recouping the academic losses caused by their absence from school. Make-up lectures and laboratory sessions were organized and tutorial help given. Students were personally called by their teachers and urged to take finals. Finally, in January, the faculty senate voted that the traditional attendance regulation be set aside and that, whenever possible, students be given credit for work completed before the middle of December. The college also extended the deadline on withdrawals from a class, in the attempt to eliminate F's which CRP students might otherwise have received.

Despite this liberalization of grading, hundreds of College Readiness students did not complete the fall semester or register for the spring term. In April of 1969, there were 130 students in the Program, and only a small number of students of color in the college at large. After the initial wave of dropouts by students who could not attend college without financial aid, attrition among CRP students did not let up, but continued to increase throughout the semester, reaching approximately 55 percent by the end of the term. The most obvious reason for this mass dropout was the conviction among the students that the College Readiness Program was dead. They felt that the college's desire to eliminate the Program as they knew it was made evident through the removal of the two directors who had encompassed its ideals and gave it their charismatic leadership. The attrition was furthered by the presence of police on campus and by the legal charges brought against the most prominent CRP student leaders.

If one can accuse the College Readiness Program of having been a radicalizing experience for its participants, one must also understand the degree to which the College of San Mateo has acted as a radicalizing agent. The College Readiness Program was established as part of an institution of higher education, and its leaders worked actively to keep students in the system. At times they were quite conscious that movement in this direction meant giving a shake to the parent institution; and within the course of the two years they began to feel that too great a proportion of their time was devoted toward educating the college, as opposed to their own students. However, it was the college, and not the Program leadership, which effectively removed students and staff from the confines of the established academic world. A number of CRP graduates are now on other campuses. But a still greater number, particularly among those students who had been in the Program less than a year, have retreated back into the uncontainable world of the ghetto where real revolutionaries are made. Having observed for themselves that a white college was not ready to accept them, they have moved one step further from believing in the ability of the United States to deliver the American dream.

EPILOGUE

In the spring of 1969, Dr. Frank Pearce, author of the study of academic achievement among CRP students, presented a plan to the faculty for revising the College Readiness Program. Known as the Pearce Plan, its main thrust is the integration of the Program into the general college life of San Mateo. Tutorial help is to be given to students of all colors, irrespective of ethnic identity, and an effort will be made to recruit white students into the Program. There is to be greater emphasis on the vocational-technical fields of study. The ethnic component of the Program is to be redirected into a new Ethnic Studies Division, which will include courses in Afro-American, Mexican-American, and Oriental-American histories open to all students in the college. Whether this pacific plan can be achieved as outlined is questionable. Despite the removal or withdrawal of most activist students of color from the campus, it is unlikely that the college can retreat to a position which permits education only within the traditional framework. Probably much will depend on what happens in opposition to change encountered by students.

In the meantime, the idea of a college program directed toward the needs of Third World students is very much alive. During the police occupation and in the weeks following the "reassignment" of Wirth and Hoover, a number of community groups such as the East Palo Alto Mothers for Equal Opportunity, MAPA (The Mexican-American Political Association), the Mid-Peninsula Human Relations Commission, the Palo Alto-Stanford Democratic Club, and the Redwood Citizens Against Racism appeared at the college to protest the removal of Jean Wirth and Robert Hoover and to support the College Readiness Program. These groups, as groups, were never acknowledged by the administration and apparently had little effect on policy-making. But they have continued to support Hoover and Wirth outside the college. In the last few months they have worked together with Wirth, Hoover, and a number of College Readiness students and ex-students in planning a private college based on the principles of autonomy and liberation for people of color. The college, to be known as Nairobe, will be situated in East Palo Alto. Because of a shortage of funds, classes will be held in empty churches, schoolrooms and storefronts, and volunteer teachers will be drawn largely from Stanford, San Francisco State, and other nearby universities. The community itself will provide a training ground as well as teachers for the new college.

Nairobe will be open to any student who demonstrates his interest in being trained for leadership in minority and/or poor communities. It will extend the idea of student participation from recruitment, student and faculty selection and retention, tutoring and counselling, to curriculum development and overall policy-making for the functioning of the college within the community it is to serve. Perhaps the most striking form of student participation at Nairobe will be their service on the board of trustees. The board will consist of one-third community members, one-third faculty, and one-third students. Each of these three groups will have equal representation of black, brown, and yellow members.

Such an enterprise runs high risks. There are problems of finances, of accreditation, of administrative know-how. Those involved in the new college are well aware of these problems. And they are also aware of the difficulties which any project centered around ethnic minorities will encounter. But the vision which enabled the College Readiness Program to grow as it did has been reinvested in the new project. One might now question whether any organization run on the boldness and dedication of two or three individuals can long survive; on the other hand, one might equally well ask whether an organization without such leadership is even worth undertaking.

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FOOTNOTES

1. John Rowntree and Margaret Rowntree, "Youth as Class: The Political Economy of Youth," Our Generation Magazine, Summer 1968.

2. Ibid.

3. Ivar Berg, "Rich Man's Qualifications for Poor Man's Jobs," Transaction, 6 (March 1969), 45-50.

4. Bill Shapiro and Bill Barlow, "San Francisco State," Leviathan, I (I) (April 1969), 4-11.

5. Ibid, p. 6.

6. These and the following statistics are drawn from two reports: Frank C. Pearce, "A Study of Academic Success of College Readiness Students at the College of San Mateo," Office of Research, San Mateo Junior College District, 1968; and Frank C. Pearce, "A Profile of Students in the College Readiness Program at the College of San Mateo," Office of Research, San Mateo Junior College District, 1968-69.

7. Ernest H. Berg and Dayton Axtell, Programs for Disadvantaged Students in the California Community Colleges, Peralta Junior College District, 1968, p. 33.

8. Pearce, Op. cit. 1968, p. 8.

9. Ibid, pp. 10-11.

10. Ibid, p. 11.

11. Ibid, p. 15.

12. Ibid, p. 12.

13. Pearce, Op. cit. 1968-69, p. 7.

14. Pearce, Op. cit. 1968, p. 14.

15. Ibid, p. 15.

16. Ibid, p. 21.

17. Ibid, p. 24.

18. Ibid, p. 25.

19. Ibid, p. 26.

20. *Ibid*, p. 28.

21. *Ibid*, p. 28.

22. Pearce, *Cp. cit.* 1968-69, p. 5.

Chapter X: A Critical Summary

WHAT IS THE PROBLEM, AND WHAT IS THE STATUS OF THE SOLUTION?

More than three years have passed since the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King and its aftermath forced upon the consciousness of the white community the gigantic chasm which still yawned between those whose race makes them easily and naturally full participants in American society and those whose social condition and past history convince them that they will be indefinitely excluded. To some extent, this event called up the conscience of many members of white society, and at the same time it revealed the rage which simmers in the communities of the dispossessed. Amid the torrents of rhetoric, there were some positive commitments to action, whether those commitments grew out of a genuine will to change the situation, or simply a desire to hold ground a little longer against the flood of pressure for drastic social change.

Many of the kinds of programs on which this study has focused grew out of this atmosphere, and like other reactions at the time, they varied in the depth of conviction out of which they were born, and the extent of commitment they actually represented. Data from this survey can only show that slightly over seven hundred institutions were able to report that they did have something which they called a special program. This figure represents a relatively small fraction of the more than 4,000 institutions originally contacted, and less than a third of those which chose to respond. At the same time, of those institutions which were willing to provide any sort of information on their programs at all, 69% reported efforts involving less than 50 students. On the other hand, some schools did put forth substantial effort, with one midwestern university commiting itself to an increase of 500 minority group students, and other public and community institutions admitting several hundred students in some way "disadvantaged."

Any sort of judgement regarding the basic conviction underlying such moves is, of course, the least possible one for such a study to make, but the impression of many people involved with such programs is that a fair number of them undoubtedly were born out of political expediency, either because the institution felt vulnerable to political pressure from excluded groups or because a great deal of money suddenly became available in this area and most colleges and universities did not want to miss out on the trend. Such a judgement sounds harsh, of course, and it may, in the end, be impossible for the founders of any program to prove satisfactorily the nature of their intentions. Yet there are some telling indications at this point, three years later, when the social climate seems to have changed considerably. One plain fact is that many of the programs surveyed, and some of those discussed at length in this report, are being quietly phased out. Professionals and students report that, at those institutions that do still have programs, the orientation of directors and other staff is changing, as more activist personnel are being replaced with quieter, more traditional types. A few school officials have admitted their impression that the trend is back toward a search for more talented, academically successful students of the requisite ethnic group.

What are some of the reasons for these trends? Some answers may lie in an examination of the past definitions of the problem and the types of programming to meet it. For those programs, if any, which were largely conceived as responses to political pressure, the answer is probably that the pressure is no longer felt to be there. But many other factors have contributed to the unstable nature of these efforts. For one thing, many programs were conceived and put into action hastily, with a minimum of planning. When the results have failed to meet expectations, it is all too easy to forget the lack of planning, and to conclude that such efforts are not, after all, worth the time and expense. Often, too, it was expedient to set up such programs outside of the regular institutional structure, a step which probably enabled them to be put into effect more quickly, but which has also rendered them more vulnerable to attacks from other areas of the institution, even to abolition. In the same way, staff members were hastily recruited from among those who might be eligible, with very little attention given to the congruence of program staff members' intentions for the program, and the intentions of the institution in setting it up. The kinds of staff attracted to such programs tended to be young, members of minority groups (with the exception of program directors), with more activist outlooks and slightly lower academic status than other college personnel. Thus both programs and staff lacked tenure and other necessities for some sort of security within the institution. Because of conflicts in goals and style, turnover of staff in such programs has been high, and the programs have been even less stable as a result. In this area, there are indications of a shift, as observers report a new "generation" of program directors and staff, more academically oriented and less overtly political.

One of the most crucial areas is, of course, the budget, and such programs, in at least some cases, were begun because the money was there, whether from institutional, state, or federal sources, with no consideration given to the probable future of these sources. In many cases, the original source of funding has dried up, and the institutions do not feel they can make the effort to find the resources elsewhere. It seems safe to say that, on most governmental levels, there remains a recognition of the need to make continued special provision for higher education for socially and educationally disadvantaged young people, but the efforts at this time are significantly muted in relation to what they were three years ago. State legislatures are feeling public pressure to economize, and higher education has been one of the first areas to feel the pinch. Some state governments, of course, continue in direct or indirect ways to make provision for special aid to such students; there is a drive to provide more two-year community colleges, easily accessible to those from urban or rural areas considered disadvantaged. Many state governments have provided special funds for financial assistance to students from poverty backgrounds, although in many instances these funds are now being cut back. Even in states where funds for assistance to higher education are not actually being cut, there are certainly smaller increases in aid in store for the next year or two.

At the federal level, colleges and universities are certainly prominent among those who complain that domestic spending seems to be a low priority of the present administration. At the same time, new administration proposals emphasize loans to individual students, rather than funds for special programs. There is at least recognition of the political necessity for prominent gestures toward sectors considered disadvantaged -- hence the recent aid granted to predominantly black colleges, as well as the increased number of research and demonstration grants awarded to these institutions -- but virtually every professional involved in higher education agrees that the efforts come nowhere near to meeting the need. It seems, at this time, that both governmental and educational institutions recognize the need to be doing something about higher education for those who have been systematically educationally deprived, but that the effort falls far, far short in quantity and quality, and is, in fact, being de-emphasized. It seems unlikely that, once admitted, the responsibility will be entirely forgotten, but at the present time there are few institutions or governmental bodies which are willing to make an ongoing financial commitment to sustain special programs for disadvantaged students.

In spite of what may be seen as a lull or regression in efforts to broaden access to the baccalaureate degree, it can probably be said that the institutions will continue to recognize a responsibility to maintain greater ethnic and class variety in their student bodies. Fewer schools will feel comfortable with all-white enrollments or a few token black faces. But where once the problem was defined as opening the doors of the college to many more young people of all races and providing an opportunity for the educational development of those who had been deprived of a successful academic experience previously, today some schools are more comfortably resolving to take fewer risks and to admit those who seem more assured of success.

The problem of academic success may be an important key to understanding the basis for the apparent new direction in special programs; in many cases, institutions may simply have come to the bitter realization that the problem of providing education for those who have been substantially deprived in their previous schooling is much more formidable than was thought; first attempts to attack the problem having proven too optimistic, institutions are backing away in discouragement. There are still schools which are continuing to struggle with the problem of the seriously educationally disadvantaged student, but the burden may be falling more heavily on the public institutions, the two-year community colleges and open admission institutions such as the City University of New York. Even in these institutions, the burden of proof still falls heavily on the student; no one, it seems, has sought to attack the problem by first redefining it -- that is, by stopping to ask what it is that higher education does, what functions it does and should serve even for more traditional kinds of students, as well as for these special populations.

WHAT IS BEING DONE?

The question of definition is one which deserves to be examined in considerably greater detail, but before moving into this area, it is important to look at what has actually been done, and how it has worked. As has been noted earlier, however, finding out "how it has worked" has been an impossible task in all but a few cases. Few evaluations of any sort have been conducted for programs of this sort, and those which exist are of a rather specific nature to allow for generalizations to other programs or practices. Of the programs mentioned in this report, the mixed results achieved by the Morgan State College program are reported in an article by Froe (1966),and the Thirteen College Curriculum Project at Florida A&M with its mixed effects is described in the dissertation by Groomes (1971). The Clark and Plotkin examination of The Negro Student at Integrated Colleges (1963) is one of the few broad-based studies of that area, though its subjects, placed through the efforts of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, were for the most part more academically successful before their college experience than the participants in most of the special programs of the past few years.

The problems of evaluation of any specific program have already been mentioned earlier in this report. Besides the basic issue of what constitutes "success" -- for program or for student -- there are the questions related to the possible impact of ongoing evaluation on a program and its participants, as well as the possible harmful repercussions for a program whose evaluation is not entirely favorable. There may well be evaluations of some programs which are simply not being made available for these reasons, and other programs may have refrained from efforts at evaluation until they are more secure or until an adequate evaluation procedure can be designed.

Those few evaluations which do exist are almost all based on comparative grade point averages, sometimes including an examination of retention rates. For the most part, such studies find that attrition rates for special program students are generally lower than rates for the general population of students at the institution; that the grade point average of the special students is slightly lower than the regular students; but that the grade point average of these special students is slightly higher than some other comparable groups not in special programs.

Such studies leave us almost as much in the dark as we have been concerning what specific kinds of things we may be able to do at the college level to deal with the problem of educational deprivation. It seems necessary to rely on intuition, and on a few impressionistic evaluations of observers and participants at various levels, in order to arrive at a listing of some areas which may be important in building a program with some hope of success.

In the area of specific remedial practices and strategies, there seem to be few such factors which have of themselves proved to contribute to success. Any courses which are labeled "remedial" already face severe handicaps with regard to student acceptance and participation, though it is becoming increasingly apparent that students will give more regard to those courses which are offered for credit, as well they might. It seems that arguments for "academic purity" must be set aside in determining the status of such courses if they are really going to be effective in capturing the attention and efforts of students. A student who is not even sure of the relevance of being in college in the first place is not likely to blaze with enthusiasm toward a course which identifies him as a second class citizen and does nothing, so far as he can perceive, to further his progress toward a degree. If his efforts in such a course are valued at nothing by the university, there may be no reason for him to show by his behavior and achievement that he disagrees with that assessment.

A remedial strategy which may prove to be effective on some campuses is the independent study center, if such a facility is set up so that it is clearly a relevant and stimulating source of learning experiences, for advanced students as well as for those having academic difficulties in certain areas. Utilization of the study center is a public statement of interest in individualized study with no necessary statement as to level of work or reason for going. It seems to be a promising way to avoid the objectionable "remedial" label, and still offer resources for remedying academic deficiencies.

Schools report varying degrees of success with tutorial programs, including those which use fellow students as tutors. Tutors, like teachers, should be chosen for their ability to relate to the persons they serve as well as to handle learning experiences effectively. Relying on students just because they are students may not always guarantee tutors who have sufficient ability and skill to give effective help. On the other hand, work between peers can be a more desirable learning experience for both tutor and tutee.

The organizational patterns of the program will be important for the security of both the students and the program itself. The relationship of the program to the rest of the university should be examined at the same time as the goals of the program and some possible methods are being discussed; rushing into a program without carefully examining any one of these areas is inviting the kind of instability which has plagued so many previous efforts. There are, of course, good arguments for giving the program some sort of special status with regard to the rest of the administrative setup, especially for the sake of flexibility, but too often this sort of organization can result in just the opposite situation, in which the administrators of the program find themselves without significant legitimacy and in constant need of turning to countless other areas of the university bureaucracy for the authority to get things accomplished. The issue of legitimacy is one which should be examined thoroughly, and the aim should be to create a program with sufficient autonomy to insure the possibility of innovation and flexibility, but at the same time with sufficient ties to other sectors of the university to give it the status and clout it needs within the institution. The support and involvement of other faculty members are essential elements in the achievement of this sort of status. Without support from and involvement of leadership persons on the faculty, these programs will remain vulnerable appendages whose viability is dependent on political circumstance.

Part of the definition of the goals of the program should be the extent to which it will focus on ethnic representation. Most compensatory programs are dealing with one or more of several problems for which they are trying to "compensate" - educational deficiency, economic disadvantage, the social effects which come from poverty, and the social effects which come from ethnic minority group status. If an emphasis is to be placed on increasing successful participation in higher education by members of minority groups, then the extent of their representation should be considered. Is the program to be an effort to add a few token touches of darker color to the face of the student population, or is there really to be a commitment to insuring a large enough representation of such groups so that their members will have sources of positive identification on the campus? To achieve such identification, students will need settings in which they can feel at home and find status in being themselves, not just a setting in which status is based upon their acquisition of majority group characteristics. Dealing with this sort of problem also involves effective action to change the complexion, not only of the student body, but of the professional staff of the university as well. If a student finds members of his race only in his special, isolated corner of the campus, he will conclude, with perfect justification, that there is no place for him in the institution.

There are several things that can be done to provide the sort of psychosocial atmosphere which may alleviate somewhat the feelings of being an outsider on the part of a student from a background which has not oriented him toward college. Whatever factors the university may feel it has the power to affect, there should be an awareness that all these conditions contribute in some way to the student's affective development at the college. Perhaps these factors can be grouped into two major areas: the need for non-traditional students to have an opportunity to come together in some sort of protective and encouraging solidarity, and the need for them to feel themselves an integral part of the university community. These needs may seem at times contradictory. A crucial example of the problems they present is seen in the question of housing for ethnic minority students. We have spoken of the need for solidarity, not only because the alien campus can be a lonely place, but also because a total and forced integration can rob such students -- and the rest of the school as well -- of the benefit of their cultural identification, an identification from which they and others on the campus have much to gain. It seems, therefore, that it would be a mistake to scatter such students in isolated fashion all over the campus.

In the effort to appear "color-blind" or to expose majority group students to minority group students, total integration may be counter-productive. For cultural traits to gain optimal expression a certain critical mass may be necessary. On the other hand, any system of separation has its obvious dangers. To the extent that ethnic separation becomes rigidly fixed and is enforced by law or tradition, to the extent that free movement in or out of the separate unit is precluded, we approach unhealthy and undemocratic conditions. There is no one sure way of walking this tightrope, but each institution can take into account its own circumstances and facilities, and can undertake to insure that there will be ample opportunity, climate and facilities for interaction among and between groups.

The problems of commuter institutions bear special attention. Where commuting means a journey of several hundred miles or more, university staff -- counselors, instructors, and financial aid officers -- should be aware of those aching feelings that can afflict a young person far away from home and in an alien environment. If a program on a residential campus must consist of daily commuters only, it will be more difficult, and more necessary, to encourage a full participation in the social life of the campus on the part of the special students. In this sort of situation, there is danger of the students being perceived, and perceiving themselves, as outsiders, not really wanted on the campus, but tolerated on a temporary basis. Where the program is composed of some students living on campus and some commuting daily from home, there can be special opportunities for developing closer relationships between these two groups of students than those which occur in the classroom. The students in the dormitories have the advantage of the kinds of educational and social experiences which come from "rapping" in a dormitory room or hall late into the night, and the commuters are fortunate in being able to remain a part of the community outside the campus. Both groups of students have much to share with each other.

Concern with social life on the campus for special students should not be limited to making sure that college dances are "integrated." To forget what non-traditional students have to offer to the rest of the school is to pass up a variety of possible advantages. If there is enthusiasm for cultural nationalism, for political and social activism, among these groups, the university may well conclude that this is so much for the better. If the school becomes a willing forum for such cultural activities, a place willing to learn as well as teach, then the students may more easily conclude that they have a place there. And at the same time, the quality of education which actually takes place there may be increased.

The political and social orientations of students should also have an effect on the focus of the special program. If political action is seen as a significant and relevant field of "real-life" activity, then it may serve as an excellent learning environment as well, and encouragement of social action through the program may be a vital motivating factor to the student trying to determine whether an academic education is relevant to his needs. There are many who would argue that this kind of education-through-action is more truly education in the most basic sense, and that all students could benefit through this type of learning. It seems likely that a program which includes this sort of focus has a better chance of success, through its effect on the student's perceptions of the university's relevance, than a program which concentrates solely on academic remediation. A black student organization at one school, for example, has combined political and social activities with a self-help system in which students make available books and notes for courses they have taken in the past, and volunteer their services as tutors to students presently in those courses who approach the organization for help.

These sorts of considerations are all manifestations of an approach which takes into consideration the group's, and the individual student's, strengths as well as weaknesses. In the affective area, this means not the process of overcoming his social differences as they become obvious in the context of the university, but of turning those differences to the advantage of his own education and the education of other students as well. In the academic area, it means looking at the kinds of knowledge and learning styles which he has, and building on these to produce new knowledge and new skills. Programs which choose learning materials such as literature which comes out of the same background as the students in the program are making a start in this direction, and almost everyone connected with programs which use this approach report that it is effective. What remains to be seen is how we move from this strategy for involvement in the learning experience to related strategies in the mastery of broader competencies, skills and understandings.

Additional features of the design of the program which can play a significant role in its success or failure relate to the most desirable mix of structure and flexibility. It seems clear that many students with the typical experiences of educational deprivation need a certain degree of structure to encourage their intellectual development. There are programs which, in the interests of flexibility and openness, seem to have placed the burden of direction and motivation squarely on the shoulders of the students, and there are students who flatly state that they do not feel there is enough direction provided them by their programs. On the other hand, the advantages of flexibility and open learning are extremely significant. In the first place, in an area where so little is known, there is a constant need for innovation. It is also true that the educational deprivation and even brutalization of many of these students has taken place in an atmosphere of coercion and the most rigid structure, a structure that has usually emphasized most of the wrong things and few of the right ones. It is not easy to arrive at what may be the most effective mix of structure and flexibility, but there are certain areas for concern. The first is accountability. It is safe to say that students must, at some point, be held accountable for their progress at school. Accountability is an important part of any learning situation, but especially so as we move toward more open and flexible situations. The duties of faculty members should include instructional leadership, provision of adequate learning resources, helping students to expand their aspirations, their options, and their development. The student, on the other hand, must be held accountable for progress in work, for utilization of what is a valuable social resource -- the institution. Students should be allowed to do their own thing, but in the framework of some agreed-upon purpose. It is clearly a disservice to let a student simply exist at the institution when it is plain that he is failing to gain anything, that he is, in fact, just kidding himself. Standards of accountability may be defined in terms of certain norms for the institution -- that is, the standard credits which are required in order to gain the credential which the school offers. A more detailed system of accountability could utilize a system of criterion mastery, using as criteria those specific areas which, step-by-step, are part of the learning process.

If accountability is to be more individualized, a principal area requiring attention is that of length of the student's participation in the program. If it is a one-year program, must students sink or swim at the end of that year, or can they, at the other extreme, continue indefinitely spinning their wheels in the first year of their college experience? Obviously in such programs there need to be specific points for stock-taking, opportunities for the student and his advisors to reach decisions about future strategies for him. A preferred pattern is the program which follows such students through to the completion of their college years. In the instances in which they are to be given extra time to complete the requirements, on what basis is this to be done? The answers to these kinds of questions depend in part on the characteristics of the institution, the nature of the program, and the characteristics of the individual student. A great advantage in determining them can be the simple act of consulting the students. It has been proven more than once that students can bring a great deal of wisdom to such problems concerning their own education, and a program may be able to go a long way toward solving such problems, as well as gaining other kinds of advantages, by including provision for meaningful student participation in its structure. Obviously, since academic progress depends upon a cooperative relationship between students and faculty, this heavy dependence on student input must be balanced with meaningful faculty participation in such planning. Where mutual agreement and commitment are achieved, chances for the success of individuals and programs are likely to be improved.

Among the practices and strategies encountered in this study, a few other features should be mentioned. The success of pre-enrollment programs has been referred to earlier. It seems that much can be accomplished when the admission of special students is anticipated and effort is directed at the improvement of their readiness to participate in higher education. Obviously those programs which start early in the life of the student (junior or senior high school) are likely to be more effective than those which start late. However, such experiences offered in the summer prior to admission and even a few weeks prior to enrollment can be helpful. Where it is at all feasible, institutions should look to the possibility of utilizing the strengths of such programs. In connection with this strategy, where a school is unable to provide facilities for an extensive pre-enrollment program, much may be accomplished by careful planning for a thorough pre-registration orientation program; registration days on a university campus are all too often disorienting for students of all kinds. It is possible, however, to design an orientation period full of experiences intended to make the student from a non-middle class background more knowledgeable about the process and feeling more at home on the campus before the full onslaught of students, fee lines, and computer cards begins.

It goes without saying that the process by no means ends with better preparation, orientation and registration. There are considerations which must be tended to at registration which have important implications for subsequent aspects of the program. In the setting up of classes special attention must be given to the size of the groups to which these students are assigned. Although they may survive some large group learning situations, it is obvious that the fewer students for whom each instructor has responsibility, the more attention she or he will be able to give to each. It is this opportunity for individual attention when needed which often spells the difference between success and failure. If possible, classes should be grouped with a reasonable variety of academic proficiency represented among the students, so that there will be opportunity for stimulating interaction among students at different levels, as well as natural settings in which peer tutoring can occur.

SOME PROBLEMS

Whatever successes may have been achieved in providing a college experience for young people who in the past would not have been able to hope for one, there remain many problems in a variety of areas which continue to hinder such efforts. We have mentioned many times the numerous problems connected with evaluation of such programs, and this problem, in turn, has meant that assessment of drawbacks to the effort is largely impressionistic. Most problems, however, can be stated with accuracy.

The financial situation is approaching the crisis level at this time. Many institutions feel that they are in danger of lacking funds for meeting the essential needs of their usual student population, and they cannot bring themselves to take any steps which might result in cutting back their services to this group. As a result, the level of available funding for special programs is especially low. At the same time, where an institution is still willing to commit some resources to the problem, fiscal management can sometimes present obstacles. Too often, there is a reluctance to release available funds to one operation, and the money may be distributed so as to avoid giving any control to those who are actually in charge of the program. Students, too, may run into parallel problems with the financial aid that is offered to them, with university officials rather openly showing lack of faith in such young people's own powers of fiscal management, and making arrangements for distribution which pointedly preclude handling by the student. With the program effort degenerating into one big mass of complaints about money, little education can take place, except, as one student observed, "education in the art of survival."

If we can assume an atmosphere where the more basic necessities for survival are assured, then there are still more complex problems to be met. Perhaps the first to be dealt with is the students' attitudinal relationship to the university. If students' comments are contrasted with statements by university administrators, it seems to be inevitable that there will continue to be conflicts in student and institutional purposes. Yet there is no reason to believe that these differences have to be so great. There may be the best of intentions on the part of an institution which has resolved to take in a certain population of students with academic handicaps, usually the result of deprived social status, and make an earnest effort to eliminate these handicaps and to provide a "college education" for such students. Yet the student's definition of a "college education" -- or what it should be -- may be so at variance with that of the institution that he sees little need to acquire one, and little need to expend the effort to "remedy" these deficiencies which the college sees in him. The university may be tired of hearing itself characterized as a factory for producing successful employees of "the system," but if that is how students perceive it, the problem exists no matter how little this description corresponds with its intentions. If a student from a different social background, or a different cultural or ethnic tradition, feels that the tendency, if not the intention, of the institution is to work for his assimilation, then the university itself would do well to examine its own commitment to pluralism. Higher education itself could be so radically and promisingly changed by the realization on the part of both the institutions and this new population of students that the advantages of broadened access are on both sides. If the students want to "change the world," beginning with the university, then the more attention given to their ideas by the institution may mean the more the institution stands to benefit from its new constituency, and at the same time the students may be encouraged, on their part, to recognize the ways in which the college experience can equip them to accomplish their purposes. This kind of exchange, with the increased respect it stands to bring about, may help to alleviate also the gap which may exist between the young people's roles as students and their identity on the campus as targets of a compensatory effort. This problem needs to be examined very closely and attacked with imagination; as long as the students are stigmatized in this way on the campus, it simply will not be possible for them to partake of what is perhaps the most educational aspect of the college experience, membership in a community of sincere intellectual endeavor. This is the kind of experience which must be fostered, and until it is widely recognized that the special students have something unique to contribute, they will not be able to be full members of that community.

Yet at the same time, it would not be realistic to think that such students can at once participate as equals in all aspects of college work. Again and again, programs considered full of promise run head on into the unsolved problem of learning disabilities and inefficiencies, a problem which has hardly been dented, especially as it applies to young adult learners. What the university is taking upon itself is the responsibility of making up, in some way, for the years of neglect or worse which these young people have received in primary and secondary schools. Whether this responsibility should have to fall on them is another question, but the problem of this kind of serious educational deprivation does exist, and the biggest question is how, not whether, to deal with it.

Perhaps one of the first steps toward meeting this problem is to change the approach from one of predictive selection to one of prescriptive development. It is all too easy to look at selected test scores and imagine that these figures contain all there is to be known about how a student performs and will perform, what he will achieve. The science of education must be enriched with the kind of knowledge that will enable educators to prescribe the kinds of educational experiences which will bring the student where he wants to go, and any testing instrument is of value only insofar as it contributes to this goal. Yet in the past, testing has provided only a quantitative assessment, not a qualitative one, and the proof that he is at the "bottom" of some group has seldom been of help to any student. The science of assessment has a long way to go, and should be the target of many thoughtful innovative attacks.

Yet it has been observed that the trend may well be backward, toward a continuation of the old custom of predictive selection in college placement. Colleges are being tempted to return to the old meritocratic criteria, based on test scores and grade point averages, in the hope of getting "more for their money." Now is the time to take a hard look at the future, and at the possibilities. Now, while there is still some momentum in that direction, is the time to teach ourselves how to democratize higher education.

The argument is still made -- can differential admissions standards, if they are so broad, lead to some common quality of completion criteria, or won't the value of the college degree decline? The answer, of course, lies in what happens in between admission and completion. There must be some standards here, and ideally, retention should be based on developmental standards, derived to suit the needs of the students. This method is in contrast to the simple postponement of the old admissions selection process, whereby there is a cold selection of survivors according to some rigid criterion.

This problem may prove to be not such a disturbing one if we look frankly at the past history of higher education in this society. For many years, higher education has served three functions: human intellectual development, professional skills development, and credentialing. In our concern for the democratization of access to higher education, the three have been greatly confused. Most of the concern for democratization has been with the credentialing function. But in response to the new pressures, many institutions have insisted that their major function is not credentialing, but professional skills and intellectual development, and that the credential cannot be separate from this.

An honest look at history should reveal to all but the most biased that we have found ways in the past to admit and provide the collegiate credential to selected members of the population whose "qualifications" -- or lack of them -- have been not unlike those of the new populations we are considering, except that these former students have had some additional characteristic such as money, higher social status, strong political contacts, or athletic ability. Because of the efforts of the institutions involved, these kinds of students have received the baccalaureate degree, a necessary credential for admission to many of the more prestigious places in the social mainstream.

Many of these special cases function quite adequately, since, as Ivar Berg has pointed out, there is not necessarily a high positive relationship between the credential required for a particular career and the tasks that must be performed in that career.

Clearly, then, if we could separate out the credentialing function and universalize the opportunity for that, the problem would be simplified numerically. But we still would be faced with the problem of building intellectual and professional skills on an inadequate educational base. It is futile for the university to tackle this problem divorced from its roots in elementary and secondary education. Yet since the university is being called upon to provide high-level intellectual development for those students who are demanding more than a credential and who come with poor previous preparation, this very valid observation nonetheless does not relieve the university of responsibility for seeking a pedagogical solution. The educational habilitation of young adults with academically dysfunctional learning patterns is really the core of the problem. We have not yet reached that stage of pedagogical sophistication where the analysis of learning behaviors can lead to the design of formal learning experiences and the development of appropriate learning environments. These are the central aspects cf the task at hand. The problem is not just a technical one. Another crucial consideration is the availability of human social interactions and opportunities for political expression that serve to motivate rather than frustrate. Solutions offered at this time do not address these aspects of the problem and will in all likelihood continue to fail for this reason. A possible reason for the failure to develop such solutions is that the problem has not been conceptualized in these ways. When these kinds of problems are brought together with the political economy of the disadvantaged student's access to higher education, it should become clear that our current efforts are doomed to failure.

TOWARD DEMOCRATIZATION AND DEFINITION

From these observations, it is possible to derive some general ideas concerning new directions for our efforts. In an effort to go back somewhat closer to one of the sources of the problem, colleges could begin an active effort to maintain closer relationships with secondary schools, to lend their assistance and to find out what is being done and what *can* be done at that level.

It is clear, however, that the question of financial resource support for students and programs is one of the most critical problems. If we do not have massive funds available for higher education and the tangential costs of income substitution for the families involved, we simply cannot talk seriously about higher education for large numbers of low-income young people. At the present level of commitment, and with discouraging prospects for the future, many institutions are finding the effort too costly, especially for necessary special services and facilities. The current trend toward loans, while better than nothing, still does not provide an adequate answer. Many of the young people in the target population still have to be sold on the idea of seeking a college education in the first place; they certainly can't be expected to be willing to go deeply into debt to obtain one. Given the current conservative political trend, probably the best strategy to follow is to seek *adequate* -- meaning much broader -- state and federal support of institutions of higher education and students in general , without particular attention to ethnic background. If access to the institutions becomes easier for all, it will be easier for black, brown, red and yellow students. When funds are available for individual assistance, they should be distributed as money to which the students are entitled, not as a dole; young people engaged in the effort to develop their talents more fully are contributing members of the labor force, and should be treated as such. Perhaps a monthly allowance would prove the best method of distribution, and the amount available should take into account obligations of family support. A pragmatic strategy for the present political situation may be to appeal to the professed patriotism of the conservative majority by seeking expanded veterans' benefits; since minority group youth are particularly susceptible to the military draft, this move would tend to increase the higher education opportunity for one segment of the population.

All of these strategies are based on the obvious conclusion that fiscal problems currently operate to drastically limit efforts in the area and without their solution, other problems will not be soluble. However, although the financial problem is not to be solved without support at the highest levels, political realities and the moral responsibilities of the higher education establishment are such that ways must be found within the limits of current and modestly expanded budgets to begin rapid movement in this direction.

Unquestionably a problem of huge proportions is the amount of expanded facilities that will be required if we are to serve great numbers of new students. Doermann (1971) has estimated that of all male United States high school graduates for the year 1969-70 who are able to score higher than 300 on the Scholastic Aptitude Test, 288,000 will not, for some reason or another, including lack of money, attend college in a year. This kind of figuring, of course, can only give us the faintest shadow of the extent of the need, but we can assume that there are a great many young people who are presently prevented by economic and social deprivation from attending college.

One solution may be to utilize community colleges to serve all students entering higher education and to transform all four-year colleges into senior colleges serving those students in their third and fourth years of post-high school study. In a sense, this proposal amounts to little more than a postponement of the problem, since it means simply extending the public secondary school education by two years and postponing the selection process; but, by doing so, we could at least relieve senior colleges of the obligation to provide the first two years of this education, freeing some resources and facilities, and allowing students an additional two years to make a decision concerning higher education. In the meantime, we would hope that more resources would be available for the building of more college facilities.

This suggestion is perhaps a too utopian solution in the sense that it certainly cannot be put into effect tomorrow. A more immediate approach should perhaps be simply to aim for a more equal distribution of talent and resources. If institutions are really determined to attack this problem, perhaps they should ask seriously why those colleges which supposedly offer the best education and reputedly have the best teaching talent should continue to serve only the supposedly best students. A better distribution of teaching talent and student quality would go far to equalize educational opportunity.

In addition, a work-study plan of operation can increase the number of students served immediately by any one institution in the sense that more students can be admitted to present facilities in any one year. This procedure could serve as a method of buying time for expansion as well as a method for providing support for students.

The problem of college admissions procedures also suggests both long-term and short-term efforts at solution. These institutions are still interested in serving the intellectual development function, and justifiably so; but we must also face the problem of democratizing the credentialing function. A decision that could be made within the individual institution is to devote half of its resources to the function of credentialing, with this half of its student body selected at random from an actively recruited, representative pool of high school graduates, and to concentrate intellectual development activities more particularly on the second half of the student body, selected after offering to potential applicants greater specificity as to the kind of students wanted; within this second group, a wider variety of characteristics should be sought, including membership in a minority group and more varied patterns of intellectual function.

This possible solution for individual colleges demonstrates that it is not necessary to move completely away from meritocratic considerations; it is possible to move both ways at once. If we were able to develop broader criteria for estimating excellence of potential, it might be possible to devise some sort of scheme whereby promising high school graduates could be assured admission to one of their top three choices of college to the extent that no more than 50 percent would be available to other students on a lottery basis, with some effort meanwhile being made to arrive at a method by which all students could enjoy some element of choice in their college assignment and be assured a high degree of quality in their educational treatment.

The rationale for this sort of compromise is the fact that there _is_ a place in higher education for attention to the development of an intellectual elite, though the term may be distasteful to us; democratic values do not preclude the optimal development of available resources, and though this may not be an infallible plan for doing so, at least it provides that 50 per cent of our educational facilities are devoted to the more democratic goal of credentialing for larger numbers of young people, while the other half of the facilities are used for the development of professional skills and intellectual excellence.

Another approach may be to provide more sharply defined facilities for both general and professional undergraduate education; such distinctions may help to motivate some students by making higher education more clearly a method of getting a better job. As we have noted, both of these functions are recognized as legitimate areas of higher education, though some might choose to distinguish between the types of degrees to be earned. However, the grave danger in taking this kind of re-organizational step is that it may be forgotten to what extent true professional training involves also the development of intellect. Whatever the division of higher education may be, the university must re-examine what it means by intellectual development, and make a commitment to strive as its main goal for an educational experience which will foster intellectual development, not just allow it to take its own course in a "proper" setting. As long as there is any tendency to define intellectual ability prematurely, this fostering process will not take place.

We can see how the problem of admissions cannot be divorced from the problem of educational planning and treatment. The principle of symmetry as advanced by James Coleman, a member of the Commission on Tests, in a brief to the College Entrance Examination Board, provides an appropriate conceptual frame for discussing [illegible]

[illegible]

the problem. Coleman argues that students, as well as the universities, should have the benefit of rich information about each other in the mating process; the student should have as much information about the institution as the institution has about him. An extension of this principle involves the appropriate matching of the characteristics and needs of the student with the characteristics and resources of the institution. In order to serve both aspects of the principle of symmetry, data-gathering procedures associated with the admissions process must be revised. We need to have available for students making choices about institutions, as well as for administrators making choices about students, detailed information concerning commitments, strengths, weaknesses, and resources -- information more detailed than that provided by commercial college guides or the typical college catalogue.

Even more important is the need for detailed and qualitative information descriptive of the intellectual and personal-social functioning of students -- their strengths, weaknesses, and specific patterns of need to be met if their development is to be optimized. Our earlier expressed concern with detailed, sophisticated qualitative information on the nature of the learning process in young adults who have not traditionally functioned well in academic settings could provide the data from which appropriate teaching-learning strategies can be developed.

Finally, there is the question of politicalization and the processes of education. We have already discussed the pedagogical basis for what is called "political" activity as part of the educational experience, as it relates to the affective function, i.e., motivation and task involvement. Here the problem is to make the relevance of the essential aspects of the learning tasks of higher education more apparent to the students served. Information management, mastery of knowledge, and intellectual competence and skills are not irrelevant to real life in the society, but the society has moved to distort and prostitute the purposes toward which these knowledges, skills, and competencies are utilized. When the university becomes an accomplice in this process of distortion, we are subverting the goals and objectives that are fundamental to our purposes. When science is used to exploit and victimize humanity instead of to help it, it is indeed hard to perceive the relevance of the sciences. When economics is used to exploit, colonize, and enslave, it becomes difficult to excite an honest student about the study of this discipline. When a professor uses his discipline to achieve his own personal ends and glory rather than to further more general social goals, students cannot be expected to respect him or use him as a model. Many young people see in the university a haven for the glorification of knowledge for knowledge's sake, rather than a concern for knowledge for the service of humanity; a mecca for the individual academic entrepreneur rather than a community for scholars devoted to the facilitation of human development; an appendage to the military-industrial complex committed to the continued subjugation of third-world people. Such perceptions make difficult, if not impossible, their identification with these institutions.

When the university's resources for intellectual and professional development are made unacceptable to students because of the institution's complicity with reactionary political or economic forces, the educational relevance of conflicting views of the college becomes obvious. We may win the battle of democratized access to higher education only to find that those for whom the struggle was waged want no part of these institutions to which we have opened the doors. As important as are the problems of access, of even greater importance are the problems of access to what. It is increasingly clear that the university must not only protect the opportunity of students to express themselves through social and political action, it must also become identified with the struggle to understand and guide the social and political development of the society. The absence of either can interfere not only with the politico-social development of our students, indeed it can -- by reducing or preventing their involvement in the processes of higher education -- preclude their further intellectual development through the university. If the problems of the outside world make students unable to perceive the relevance of the academic disciplines, then the school must turn its attention to the outside world in order to relate these disciplines to the problems of that world and make itself more relevant; for we must realize that if our students perceive us as irrelevant, then we are irrelevant to their purposes; if we cannot foster and hand down our knowledge because students have no respect for us, then we have no useful function to serve for them. In this extremely critical time of social conflict and political resistance, we must see, as many of our students do, that the university is one of the few hopes we have for fostering change; if the universities, havens of freedom and thought, choose to do nothing, they will be unattractive to increasingly large numbers of students. For many of those who continue to turn to the university and those faculty members who remain cloistered and insulated from the realities of a society desperately in need of intellectual and moral leadership there is likely to be little that is alive, creative, and productive. It is well to remember that, during Nazi domination of Europe, many of the university faculties that were dominated by collaborators and the complacent became stultified and sterile; it was among those scholars who chose not to acquiesce, but instead to go underground, to resist and to help turn back the tide of social and political disaster, that creative scholarship, and true relevance, flourished. The United States may not yet be on the way to fascism, despite the evidence that many of us could cite, but it is a necessity for the university to move more actively to democratize access to its resources and to utilize its resources in the active defense and advancement of the democratic society.

Appendix A. Model Programs

The following programs were selected because they appeared to be representative of the various types of institutions of higher education; they have initiated imaginative and promising practices; or there is evidence of positive outcomes. The programs have not been evaluated in this study and they are described in this section in the words of their own officers. Their inclusion here should not be interpreted as a judgment that they are the "best" currently in existence. Rather, the intention is to demonstrate the variety of possible approaches and to call attention to concrete steps that are now or have been a reality and are proving effective in the opinion of the responding institutions.

The following program descriptions were prepared by the directors of these programs, and are intended to provide information for administrators, students, and faculty who are attempting to begin new programs or to modify and improve upon present efforts. For further information please write the institutions directly for exchange of information, or to arrange visits between institutions.

SPECIAL PROJECTS OFFICE UNIVERSITY OF DETROIT

Detroit, Michigan 48221

The Special Projects Office at the University of Detroit (a private institution) was created as part of the university's continuing effort to meet its responsibilities toward the peaceful solution of some of Detroit's educational and social problems. The Special Projects Office feels the primary method by which underprivileged youth may become more productive citizens, equipped to avail themselves of the opportunities presented by our society, is through adequate educational preparation.

The Special Projects Office is currently operating twelve programs. Project One Hundred is our college program which is designed to identify, admit and provide financial assistance to the degree necessary for disadvantaged students. (The average financial aid packet for a commuting student is $2,000; for the resident student, $3,200.) Each student receives a four-year financial aid packet based on the family's income.

Project One Hundred is also designed to provide emergency services for its students which include medical and dental care, housing, food, transportation and clothing needs. In addition to these services the Project One Hundred program employs a large auxiliary staff consisting of counselors, instructional assistants and tutors whose primary purpose is to remediate academic deficiencies, to accelerate conceptual understanding and to greatly increase the probability that our "special services" students will receive a baccalaureate degree within a four to five year period in their chosen field. (The administrative staff consists of 95% minority members, the instructional staff, 50%.)

The need for the University of Detroit's Project One Hundred program is multi-dimensional. Large numbers of the high school youth of the inner-city have the potential to accomplish college level work but do not presently have the required motivation, the necessary finances, or a sufficiently strong academic background to attempt studies leading toward a college degree. With their existing backgrounds and poor self images, many of these students would only meet defeat in pursuing a college career. There is an additional need for a program in which students are given a great deal of personal encouragement and counseling. A transitional remedial program is essential if these students are not to encounter immediate failure. Project One Hundred is designed to meet these needs.

The initial stage of the program of academic assistance for the Project One Hundred students was a six-week summer session which was inaugurated in order to provide these students with whatever remedial assistance they needed and to give them a realistic perception of the academic standards and expectations of the University of Detroit so that the transition from high school to the university might be accomplished with the greatest possible ease and success.

Great efforts were made to make the students feel that activities were not being done to them or for them but rather with them; a staff of professionally trained and experienced counselors was employed during the summer session to work with the students in the area of self-concept and to promote feelings of personal and group esteem. Throughout the summer session, the counselors provided personal, educational, and vocational counseling for the students.

In September 1968, all one hundred students were enrolled as regular full-time University of Detroit freshmen. Students elected twelve or more credit hours in classes appropriate to their particular educational goals.

A part-time supportive staff of over thirty academic tutors, supervisors, counselors, and study center coordinators was assembled to assist the students through the academic year. The tutorial staff consisted of graduate students, upperclassmen, and teachers from the Detroit public schools. The counselors from the summer program were retained for the academic year. On-campus centers were established and staffed with this support personnel. All students were required to study a minimum of four hours daily in the study centers.

Counselors met with the Project Director, Assistant Director, and Study Center Coordinator regularly. These staff meetings served as an ongoing evaluation of the project. Staff meetings also served to keep the project administrators constantly aware of student problems and needs. With the assistance of the Study Center Coordinator, the counselors were able to make referrals to the academic tutors or contact the regular college instructors concerning students experiencing academic difficulty.

Both in terms of student performance and retention rates, Project One Hundred has exceeded the university's expectations.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS COLLEGE

St. Peter, Minnesota 56082

Gustavus Adolphus College is a four year, accredited, coeducational institution of 1900 students located on a bluff overlooking the "Valley of the Jolly Green Giant," sixty-five miles southwest of the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan center. Its student body is drawn from about forty states and several foreign countries with the largest number, however, from the upper midwest. It actively recruits students from Maine to Texas. It is a residential institution with plans for limited growth in numbers. While the median high school rank of entering freshmen is the eighty-seventh percentile, admission is also granted to others with limited academic credentials (including non-high school graduates) who provide from professional people recommendations of potential exhibited in some other way and who can also provide evidence of real desire to strive for a college education. Financial aid is granted on the basis of the Parents Confidential Statement. The particular distribution of grants, loans, and/or work is fitted to individual cases. Every attempt is made to make it financially possible (although not necessarily easy) for all admitted students to attend.

In efforts to attract minority and other so-called disadvantaged students (begun over ten years ago) various programs of compensatory education were tried -- including special classes, reduced loads, tutoring, and the DEMOS (Deferred Matriculation of Students) Program. There is no longer a special program because the evolution of the regular program has progressed beyond that point. It has been realized that all students are disadvantaged and all are advantaged in one way or another. To illustrate, any student who feels that he can meet the general objectives of the college by some means other than stipulated graduation requirements is encouraged to present his case. During the last semester fifty out of sixty-five completed applications for the program were accepted. Another example of the evolution is last year's course in black literature taught by black students to faculty members. One final example is a course in Western Civilization which is organized topically in reverse chronological order with the documents (text) available on tapes as well as in written form. The first topic, The Race Problem in America, begins with a ghetto dialect, free translation of Plato's Apology. No one know what the document is and black students find themselves in demand as translators or teachers -- a reversal in the usual beginning role in a white school. Later these same black students can get help in a setting much more conducive to learning from students whom they had previously helped. Oral testing has also been used to take the place of or to supplement more formal written examinations. One black, male, non-high school graduate student from New York City commented in the spring of last year in respect to the last mentioned course, "I dig this Greek and Roman stuff. It's relevant."

The college now operates on an A-B-C-No Record grading system. The student's progress is evaluated individually and the need for deferred matriculation has been outgrown. The drastic changes in some courses have made special courses unnecessary. Tutoring is still available but to any and all students on the same basis. The results of the efforts up to now have been satisfactory. Of seventeen students admitted on a deferred matriculation basis over the past two years, fifteen either matriculated here or continued their education at other institutions. The retention rate for minority students (who now constitute 4% or more of the student body) in recent years has been better than that of the remaining students.

NEW OPPORTUNITIES AT HOFSTRA (N.O.A.H.)

Hofstra University
Hempstead, Long Island
New York 11550

Hofstra University is composed of six undergraduate schools and three graduate schools, offering a wide variety of educational programs to suit the taste of practically any student. The University is inclined toward experimental programs, and has initiated many innovations in its approach to education over the last few years; among these are N.O.A.H. and a program which enables the physically handicapped to acquire the education they deserve.

Hofstra also acts as a base for an Upward Bound program throughout the year, and last summer the university hosted a Model Cities program and the Afro-American Summer Experience. N.O.A.H. students were deeply involved in both of these programs, giving them an opportunity to share their experiences with younger people whose backgrounds are similar to theirs. In this way, the education of the N.O.A.H. student is made complete. A person never learns so well himself as when he must teach and guide others. Since the N.O.A.H. students are capable people, the youngsters also benefit from this experience in that they find models for their future life.

In the N.O.A.H. program, financial aid comes from several sources: New York State H.E.O.P. Funds and Regents aid; federal aid in the form of the Educational Opportunity Grant and the National Defense Student Loan and College Work Study; and Hofstra University. Hofstra only provides funds for the student's tuition. Money for books, room and board, university fees and miscellaneous expenses must come from one of the other sources mentioned or the student himself. This places a tremendous burden on the student from outside New York State. His sources of aid are cut in half. Student loans generally range from 1/8 to 1/6 of the student's financial package. Work study money amounts to about 1/3; Hofstra University contributes about 1/2 to 2/3 of the financial aid; and New York State contributes about 1/4 of the financial aid package.

N.O.A.H.'s target population is composed of young men and women whose families would not be able to finance their college education and whose high school records and standard test scores would normally preclude their entering college. These students must manifest, however, an ability to handle college work and the will and desire to do so, and must excel in some area of life other than academics. These students include blacks, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, and whites, who generally hail from the New York metropolitan area and the east coast. However, a few come from as far as South Dakota.

N.O.A.H. is a two-phase program -- admissions and support. The admissions requirements are summarized above. The supportive services are structured in a framework of reciprocal relationships with the students doing as much for each other as possible. We have students who serve as counselors for entering freshmen, providing advice on study habits, how to budget one's time, information concerning where students can have specific problems solved and general encouragement. N.O.A.H. students also serve as tutors to each other. Our writing clinician is an English major who, although he himself is not a N.O.A.H. student, is very close to them. Other supportive personnel include a math specialist, a reading specialist, a psychologist, and a psychological counselor. We have plans to increase the role of the students in the supportive phase of the N.O.A.H. program by establishing training programs which will enable them to acquire the skill to aid other people in their academic growth.

The unique aspect of the N.O.A.H. program is its stress upon student participation and our plans to expand their role in the supportive services. A feature which seems to work extremely well is the youth, vitality, and sense of commitment of the N.O.A.H. staff.

N.O.A.H. students have an attrition rate which is only half that of the rest of the university's students. Last year's freshman class of N.O.A.H. students (class of '74) did exceptionally well academically, and many branched out into other areas of the university life. The social and political awareness of most N.O.A.H. students is keen from the time they enter college, but it develops and broadens, usually, during their stay at Hofstra, molding individuals who will take part in the solution of the complex problems of the times.

MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE

Purchase, New York 10577

Manhattanville is an independent liberal arts college located twenty-five miles from New York City. The student body is predominantly undergraduate resident women. Founded as an academy in 1841, the college was chartered to grant both undergraduate and graduate degrees in 1917.

In 1964 Manhattanville established the LaFarge Scholarship Program for minority students and began active efforts to recruit qualified applicants. In 1966 the college inaugurated Project Share to provide an experimental curriculum to be offered to a matched group of twenty-seven freshmen who met the usual admission requirements and twenty-seven minority group students whose education had not provided them with the traditional preparation for college.

The college entered upon the decade of the seventies with a continued commitment to students who have traditionally been denied access to higher education. We have, however, learned and grown as a result of our earlier efforts to implement our commitment. No longer are these students who are in need of our special services and curriculum viewed as "special" or "disadvantaged." We have discontinued our differentiated curriculum which had the effect of separating certain sub-populations from the mainstream of our college community. We believe students have as much to offer the institution as the institution has to offer them. All of our students have unique needs -- as does the college itself.

During the academic year 1969-70, Manhattanville began an extensive study of its undergraduate curriculum, with an eye to reform. The first changes are in effect this year, and that study continues. All distribution requirements have been dropped, and we have moved away from the credit-counting or even course-counting "lockstep" of higher education by encouraging our students to plan programs of study which may include anything from one to eight formal courses; the purpose here is to enable students to work to the limits of their capacity or at their own pace. The key element of the freshman year is the preceptorial, a seminar limited to twelve students and therefore capable of very flexible scheduling and even sub-division into tutorials. Thirty-one such courses were offered to the incoming freshman class of 255 students, and only 17 failed to choose one of them. The subjects studied in these preceptorials vary from introductory foreign language courses and depth studies of key topics in the humanities to remedial work in English. All preceptorials are planned to equip students with library techniques and to improve their skills in writing expository prose. The preceptor is also academic advisor to his students, and assists them in choosing other courses to make up a full program of academic work.

We are attempting in these curricular changes to make individually appropriate programs of study available to all students and to incorporate such flexibility as will meet the educational and professional needs both of students who go on to graduate study and of those whose baccalaureate terminates their institutional education. Our new curriculum allows students to fulfil a full semester of work towards the degree even if they take less than the traditional five courses. On the other hand, they may spread themselves more thinly over seven or eight courses in a semester and thus ensure more exposure to academic disciplines and secure more attention and care from the faculty.

Requirements for the B.A. degree are as follows:

> "Bachelor degrees will be awarded, upon the recommendation of the Academic Dean, to students who have

> (a) completed eight semesters (or their equivalent) of full-time academic study, no less than four of them in formal academic programs in this College;
>
> (b) satisfied the requirements of an academic department, or of an established program of the College, or the requirements of an individual program, as approved by the Academic Dean."

In 1970-71, 91 of Manhattanville's 1,170 full-time undergraduates, or 7.7%, are from minority groups. All students requiring financial aid are assisted through a program of financial grants, campus employment and/or loans. The extent of financial need is determined through a Parents' Confidential Statement or a Student's Confidential Statement. As need indicates, students receive direct grants from the college averaging $2,000 each; in some cases NDSL's, averaging $500 each; or EOG's averaging $1,000 each. Students also may use Scholar Incentive Awards ranging from $100 to $600 and work/study or employment providing approximately $300 per year. In addition to this assistance, students receiving total financial aid ($3,900) are eligible for stipends ranging up to $40 per month and a book stipend averaging $125 per year.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN-FLINT COLLEGE CHALLENGE PROGRAM

Flint, Michigan

Taking most of its 1600 students from the Flint area, the University of Michigan-Flint College is largely a commuter college; however, there are housing facilities available for approximately 108 students. Because there is a ratio of 15 students to one instructor, individualized instruction is stressed. Flint University of Michigan prides itself on having the advantages of a large university (prestige, money, etc.) without the dehumanizing effects which usually accompany large enrollments.

At present the Challenge Programs are assisting 28 college freshmen, 25 college sophomores and 60 high school students (grades 10-12). These young people were all identified by their high schools as being underachievers; that is, for some reason they were not achieving up to their potential.

Because of their performance at the high school level, not one of the Challenge freshmen or sophomores would have been admitted to the University of Michigan-Flint College under ordinary admissions standards. After being recommended to the Challenge Program by their high school counselors, these young people attended the six-week Summer Seminar. During this period they were given classes in intensive reading, writing, math, science, drama and communication skills.

During the school year, freshmen and sophomores are advised by the Director of Special Projects and the Challenge Program advisor. They are required to take a special section of freshmen English, a course in reading improvement and a course in communication skills, all of which are taught taught by university instructors who work with the Challenge

Programs on a part-time basis. Students are also required to take Group Encounter which is taught by the Challenge Program advisor. Each student then takes one mainstream class, a class taught by an instructor who is not working with the Challenge Programs. Tutors are available to any student who needs help, and in most cases, the instructor of the course volunteers his services as a tutor for a few hours each week. Challenge sophomores are encouraged to work with freshmen as tutors and Big Brothers or Big Sisters. The Program advisor meets periodically with instructors.

Challenge students who are still in high school also receive free tutorial services. Members of the Program Staff visit high school counselors to keep accurate accounts of each student's progress. Parents are visited at home as well as invited to visit the University of Michigan-Flint College on Parents' Nights.

Parents, counselors, teachers and students meet separately and jointly with the Program Staff members to discuss and evaluate the workings of the program. This is formally called the Advisory Council.

As for financial aids, we attempt to give our freshmen and sophomores loans and grants; however, in some cases we have given loans. Because these "high risk" students are our responsibility, we feel that it is better not to burden them with loans before they are certain that they will be able to succeed in college. With very few exceptions, we give no work-study aid to freshmen because they are in the process of adjusting to new study schedules and usually need much tutorial assistance.

The Challenge Program encompasses a variety of supportive services and practices. One of the principal tenets of the program is the importance of maintaining a high level of involvement and communication among all individuals connected with the program.

There are, for example, four Advisory Councils which meet monthly and at times as a joint body. Those secondary school counselors who had recommended students for the program and have demonstrated an ongoing interest in the progress of their counselees have been asked to serve on the Counselors' Advisory Committee. The other groups are a Teachers' Advisory Committee, a Students' Advisory Committee, and a Parents' Advisory Committee. Additionally, the Challenge staff meets each month with freshmen and sophomores to discuss any problems the students may have with grades, other students, instructors, or the program in general. Parents are also asked to come to the college and meet with the Challenge staff on an individual basis, if there are aspects of the program which they do not understand or if their child is having problems. At times it has been necessary for staff members to initiate visits to the homes of various students.

Parents' Nights, workshops, and newsletters are additional efforts designed to enhance communication and understanding of the program. The Challenge staff also meets regularly with instructors to discuss the progress of Challenge students and to sensitize them to the special problems of these students. The Challenge Program itself is a comprehensive program of group encounter experiences, specially designed tutorial services, counseling and guidance, and a series of developmental and remedial type courses. In terms of grade point averages and attrition rates the Challenge Program has thus far proven to be a remarkable success.

Our advice to new directors is that before you begin recruiting students, allow yourself at least three months time to visit other programs and find out their criteria for recruitment, their financial aid policy and sources of financial aid as well as their successes and failures. Keep in constant contact with other program directors. Know what they are doing and let them know what you are doing. Have a large mailing list and exchange information and ideas freely.

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

South Hadley, Massachusetts 01075

Mount Holyoke College is firmly committed to the value and vital importance of the liberally educated individual in an increasingly complex world. Students play a strong role, not only in the shaping of their own academic life, but also in the governance of the college. A flexible curriculum, independent study, exchange programs here and abroad, and close cooperation between faculty and students encourage the development of the unique talents of each individual. A number of new buildings on the 800-acre campus and the availability of sophisticated equipment such as an electron microscope, computer facility, and a foundry for bronze casting give each student an opportunity to expand her classroom experience. An extensive program of extracurricular activities both on and off campus, including organized opportunities for social service in neighboring communities, contributes to the enrichment of college life. Founded in 1837 by Mary Lyon, Mount Holyoke is the oldest continuing institution of higher education for women in the United States.

Financial assistance includes scholarships, loans, and employment, offered separately or in combination. Help from Mount Holyoke is intended to supplement families' maximum efforts to assist their daughters with college expenses. Approximately two-fifths of Mount Holyoke undergraduates receive some form of financial aid. About 20 percent hold Mount Holyoke scholarships, which are frequently supplemented by low-interest loans. Another 5 percent hold loans without scholarships. Some 33 percent have paying jobs on campus during the academic year and 81 percent of the undergraduates earn money in the summer.

Thanks partly to endowment funds contributed by alumnae and friends of the college as well as by corporations, the scholarships awarded by Mount Holyoke add up to more than $600,000 a year. A high school student who is prepared for a rigorous college education and ready to assume some financial responsibility herself should not be discouraged from applying to Mount Holyoke because she is unable to pay the college fees.

It is believed that there are potential students not now touched by even the most flexible admissions programs. These potential students are immensely difficult to contact, evaluate, and recruit, and certainly require supplemental academic enrichment to prepare them to compete in the better colleges. These students probably do not attend high schools with college preparatory traditions. Because of a variety of negative conditions existing in their schools, they may not be well taught. They probably will not score well on the standard college admissions tests, partly because (as there is much evidence to show) these tests are culturally weighted to the advantage of the student who is the product of the cultures and schools of suburbia rather than those of the inner city or rural or isolated areas.

The crucial premises of the new concept were that: there exist students with potential for college work who would not be recruited through standard college admissions procedures; that our own students -- expressly black students -- working in collaboration with the College Admissions Office, and with other agencies functioning among disadvantaged minority populations, are uniquely qualified to identify, recruit, and assist in the preparation of these students for matriculation at a competitive college. The new concept was a radical one in that it sought new ways of expanding the number of qualified minority group students as opposed to finding more efficient ways of raiding the existing small pool.

As a result of recruiting efforts by undergraduates in ther home localities, 114 applications for enrollment were received. Applications came from Alabama, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington, D.C. and West Virginia.

From this group of applications a selection committee on which Mount Holyoke students served chose 34 girls for the pilot program.

The program involved: (1) the recruitment and selection of a group of eleventh-grade girls; (2) an eight-week summer program including academic courses reinforced by intensive tutoring, counseling, and recreational and cultural activities for them; (3) an evaluation by the summer program faculty and staff of the performance of each student and of her potential for future matriculation at Mount Holyoke; (4) follow-up services, i.e., tutoring, counseling during her senior year in high school of each student selected to continue in the program; and (5) a second eight-week summer transitional program at the completion of the twelfth grade and prior to the beginning of freshman year at Mount Holyoke to further improve basic skills and to enhance the possibilities of success in the freshman year. The program further involves intensive tutorial assistance during the freshman year.

The distinctive feature of our program was that its recruiting reached far beyond the College's traditional admissions perimeters. It tried to test the premise that, for certain minority/poverty students, standard testing and evaluating procedures are neither accurate nor just. By every criterion the college has used in the past, the students in the program belong to a "high risk" category.

The fundamental mechanism of selection, preparation, and support was a two-summer pre-college preparatory program. Students spent a summer on campus after completing the 11th grade. Then, on the basis of recommendations of the summer program staff, a number were offered early decision on admission to the College for the following fall. (One of our hopes was that this offer would in itself be a motivating factor.) The students returned to the campus after graduating from high school for a second summer of special aid.

No single philosophy of instruction governed the summer programs. We believed that gaining skills and gaining confidence would be mutually supportive. The first summer was devoted primarily to fundamental work in English and mathematics; the second was more diversified, with optional work in sciences and math and a strong program in Afro-American history and culture. In both programs, college students were deeply involved both in planning and as tutors.

The students are now in the first semester of their freshman year. Supportive service consists of making certain that any necessary tutorial help is available to the students and that their teachers and advisors are alert to any problems that might develop. Counseling and a study skills center are also available. Our goal is to keep support continually available without isolating the students as a special academic category.

As a recruiting program, as a program for aiding educationally disadvantaged students, and as a source of knowledge about the validity of testing procedures the success of the program seems clear. The program has also helped the college to ask hard questions about its best use of resources for aiding minority/poverty students in the future. For the moment, however, the scholarship burden for the original students prohibits our beginning successor programs. (The College continues a major commitment to minority/poverty students recruited through traditional channels, and, although the program caused no diminution of this commitment, its renewal would do so.) We also feel that we have accomplished something substantial in bridging the chasm between a high-tuition, academically rigorous institution and a group of educationally and financially disadvantaged students. At the moment, we are left with an apparently successful program, which will be continued for the original students, but, due to lack of funding, cannot be renewed.

We found the disadvantages as well as the strengths of the students both deeper and more varied than we had expected. On this basis, our advice to future program directors is to maintain maximum flexibility, to emphasize students strengths while teaching basic skills, and to wait patiently for the sudden leap that, both emotionally and academically, students make when one least expects it.

THE SAN FRANCISCO CONSORTIUM

593 Market Street
San Francisco, California 94105

The San Francisco Consortium, which now includes the seven major institutions of higher education in the city, was established as a non-profit corporation in November, 1967. The general objectives of the Consortium are to bring the resources of the major educational institutions more effectively to bear upon the unsolved problems of the modern urban environment, and to provide a means by which selected educational research and service programs of the participating institutions might be improved and strengthened by appropriate coordination, exchange, or joint venture. While the goal of inter-institutional cooperation is common to nearly all educational consortia, the primary "urban" concerns of the San Francisco Consortium are shared by relatively few such organizations. This emphasis on involvement in urban and minority needs and problems, and their solutions, remains a chief objective of the Consortium.

The San Francisco Consortium is virtually unique among the more than fifty major consortia in the United States in the diversity of its institutional membership. There are three private colleges and universities, one state college, a two-year community college, a law school, and one of the most distinguished medical centers in the country.

The Consortium has been the beneficiary of increased financial support, not only from its institutional members, but also from local and national foundations. For example, the Consortium has obtained in excess of a half-million dollars in foundation grants within the past twelve months. Significantly, these grants have enabled the Consortium to develop a number of inter-institutional and community programs and activities. In addition to foundation grants, the Consortium's Board of Trustees adopted a graduated formula for "dues" based on each institution's instructional budget. This institutional financial support indicates a genuine commitment to the concept of inter-institutional cooperation.

Among the program activities funded by foundation or other outside grants are a number of major projects which are addressed to the modern urban environment. The minority Student Services Project is one such undertaking. Essentially, the Project is structured to allow each institution to conduct its particular programs independently. The chief officer of the project, the Project Coordinator, operates out of the central Consortium offices. Therefore, the various programs and activities of the project, as they directly affect minority students, are under the auspices of the individual member institutions. The coordination of the five separate programs is the responsibility of the Project Coordinator and the Project Coordination Committee. The Committee, composed of program directors, students, and faculty representatives from each of the institutions, plays the key role in supervision and coordination of the five institutional programs. The interaction of the committee members has resulted in a valuable exchange of ideas, information, and resources. As a result of this cooperative effort, all of the schools have augmented and improved their services to minority students.

Other major Consortium projects are the Urban Inventory Project, the Bayview-Hunters Point College and the Early Childhood Education Planning Project. Additionally, the institutions have been involved in a number of major conferences, publications and public relations activities. Inter-institutional task forces have been studying such matters as student services, environmental programs, ways of strengthening inter-institutional nursing education programs, methods of effecting more student exchange between and among the various institutions, the ways of developing more institutional programs in the community.

A number of future plans are now in the preliminary stages of development. A few of these plans are as follows:

. . . a new foundation project to involve several hundred students in working with community groups and organizations, and in public and private agencies, in order to familiarize themselves with urban needs and problems;

. . . a comprehensive set of student health services to be sponsored by the Consortium and the University of California at San Francisco;

. . . a Symposium on Urban Affairs, to be sponsored by San Francisco State College and the Consortium;

. . . the establishment of an inter-institutional multi-purpose downtown facility in San Francisco;

. . . the establishment of a Consortium Institute of Urban Studies, now being actively considered by the member institutions.

SEATTLE CENTRAL COMMUNITY COLLEGE

1718 Broadway
Seattle, Washington 98122

The Seattle Central Community College is one of three colleges in the Seattle Community College District #6 and is state-supported. This college, as do all state community colleges, has a mandate to "...Ensure, through the full use of its authority, that each community college district shall offer thoroughly comprehensive educational, training and service programs to meet the needs of both the communities and students served by combining, with equal emphasis, high standards of excellence in academic transfer courses; realistic and practical courses in occupational education, both graded and ungraded; and community services of an educational, cultural, and recreational nature..."

The city of Seattle is the urban center of a large metropolitan complex. The city, although young, has in its growth pattern gathered the ills of racial and poverty pockets and underprivileged people, as well as the middle and opposite poles of mediocrity and affluence.

The 9,000-student Seattle Central Community College is located in all of these populations, but proximate to many groups of disadvantaged. It is onthese groups that special emphasis is placed in providing an encouraging "open door" that enables an individual to take up education where he left off -- regardless of his level of attainment. In addition to compensatory programs, nearly 40 programs of occupational education provide for the educational goals of the residents of the area.

Both college parallel and many occupational programs provide the Associate-in-Arts degrees.

The population of the corporate limits of the city approximates 600,000. This is also the legal boundary of the college district. However, students may attend their choice of several community colleges in this metropolitan area of nearly one and one-half million population.

Supportive Services

The college coordinates its occupational programs with the community through the use of advisory committees. This approach is used, too, in certain community service programs.

No institutional funds are available for student financial assistance; however, every effort is made to secure outside assistance from individuals, business or civic organizations for the many students needing help. One hundred seventy-five students receive scholarships valued at $31,590. Short term loans are made available to 350 students annually from a $22,000 fund. Employment off campus involves about 55 percent of the students. Five percent are partially employed on campus. Insufficient jobs are available.

An educational technology laboratory is available to the instructional staff for the development and preparation of curriculum materials in all media. From this center, also, is offered a curriculum in teacher training.

Unique or nova programs include:

A. the formation of a Puget Sound Minority Affairs Council involving several of the community college districts in the area. The Seattle Community College District is providing tangible results from these monies, such as:

   1. mobile educational units that are taken into underprivileged areas of the city where people can get a taste of success in fundamental skills in addition to counseling/guidance for continued education;

2. development of special academic studies programs for the minority groups;

3. development of a minority affairs office to promote communication with minority groups;

B. educational programs in the County and City jails;

C. writing educational specifications and now building a campus that provides facilities for curriculum for the underprivileged;

D. budgetary allocation that emphasizes the "open door" policy.

The success of the program can be judged by the involvement and success of students in compensatory education. These programs have been operating for a number of years and considered as an integral part of the college.

Advice to new directors would include:

1. Determine community needs.
2. Compete for funding.
3. Look for federal or other monies.
4. Cooperate with the many local and governmental agencies that must identify with an educational program to meet their objectives.

SPECIAL FIVE YEAR PROGRAM THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

432 Murray Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

There are now 450 students enrolled in the Five Year Tutorial and Financial Assistance Program. These students are assisted financially throughout the five years. Total need is determined by the cost of attending the University minus the amount of self-help the student can provide in the form of personal savings, summer earnings, and parental capacity to contribute.

Each student participant is assigned a counselor whose duty is to assess the strengths and weaknesses of students through analysis of all available data, including test scores, high school records, and interviews. It is his task to relate the student's work and course load to his past achievement and capabilities. The student meets with his counselor once a week to discuss his progress and any problems that may arise.

Tutors are available for every college course the student takes, and are assigned after consultation with the student, course instructor, and counselor. The tutors are responsible for submitting monthly reports indicating the number of tutoring sessions attended by the student, areas of progress and deficiencies, and types of communication conducted with classroom instructors.

In terms of curriculum, there is no absolute initial curricula requirement for Special Program students, as they are not at a uniform educational level upon admission. There are special sections for Program Students which have been set up by the English, Speech, and Math Departments. These sections carry regular University credit. The only non-credit courses which may be required of students are those which fulfill a high school deficiency

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It was considered very important to involve other University departments in the application of special services to low-income students. For example, students are admitted into departments and professional schools throughout the University, and immediately begin working on their major subject. The individual school provides one person who is administratively responsible for the coordination of its Satellite Program, and a Program Counselor who provides the academic guidance and counseling services, and maintains a direct line of communication with the main Special Program staff.

Based upon the four full years of experience with the Special Program, the following suggestions are offered to those who may be in the process of initiating similar programs:

(1) There should be 100% agreement by the school administration that this program should be attempted, and that every resource available will be utilized to insure its success.

(2) Merely relaxing admission criteria will not lead to a successful high-risk program. There must be understanding and support by the academic faculty, and the faculty must be willing to implement new design, methodology, and curriculum structure.

(3) The institution must be financially committed to the program, and not simply rely on government and foundation grants and loans.

(4) There must be a research component within the program to provide a continuous study of the effectiveness of the program's design and teaching methodology.

COMPENSATORY PROGRAMS WRIGHT STATE UNIVERSITY

Dayton, Ohio

Wright State University, a liberal arts institution , is the newest of the state institutions of higher education in Ohio. It originated as a branch campus of Ohio State University and Miami University of Ohio in 1964. In 1967, independent status was legally established. It is predominantly a commuter campus located approximately 13 miles outside the city of Dayton. One residence hall, for 300 students, was opened during the 1970 school year. The Division of Graduate Studies offers Masters Degrees in eleven areas. The freshman class is typically made up of recent high school graduates. Some 60% of the student body have been found to take from 5 to 6 years to obtain the B.A. degree, because this majority is employed. The university offers financial assistance in the form of scholarships, grants-in-aid, loans and employment.

Approximately 300 Wright State University students have received free tutorial assistance from the Supplemental Instruction Program (SIP) during the past quarter from upperclassmen, graduate students, and a select number of persons who hold Bachelor's and Master's degrees. The program is strictly voluntary. Any student may request assistance for any course(s) with which he is encountering academic difficulty. The student's only obligation is to attend sessions. The number of sessions per week and the length of the sessions are determined by the student and the Supplemental Instructor's assessment of the students' needs. The availability of both student and Supplemental Instructor also plays a part in determining the number of hours they spend together.

At the beginning of the program the director requested the faculty to refer students to provide the tutorial assistance. Supplemental Instructors will fill out applications giving personal data and a list of courses, according to preferences, in which they have proficiencies. As a result one Supplemental Instructor may provide academic assistance to one student in several areas, or to several students in more than one area. Each Supplemental Instructor (who is either referred by the faculty or may be a self-referral), has a personal interview with the Program director. During this interview the director assesses the personality, examines academic qualifications, gives pointers about providing tutorial assistance and other information about the program. This assessment is used to assist in matching students with Supplemental Instructors. Undergraduate Supplemental Instructors are paid $2.50 an hour; and persons with a B.A. and above receive $4.00 an hour.

Supplemental Instructors are required to have an initial interview with the teacher of the course, and are encouraged to develop a working relationship with that professor, and to visit the class of the student whom he is instructing. They may request the syllabus or other teaching aids which the instructor uses. They may request information which the professor is willing to share about the nature of the student's difficulty.

Whenever possible, students with the same teacher are assigned to the same Supplemental Instructor.

Since Wright State is a commuter school, it was necessary to find locations in the various communities where tutoring sessions could be held after regular school hours, so that students without transportation would not have to return to the campus. Mileage is paid to the Supplemental Instructor to go to the community location, which is oftentimes in churches.

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The Supplemental Instructors must maintain at least a "B" average in the course(s) in which they will provide instruction. They are limited to 15 hours'work a week. They may work on a one to one basis if the student's difficulty so demands, or they may form small groups (3-5), if students can be matched for their similarities and difficulties, and if the course lends itself to this kind of arrangement. Group sessions are recommended, where feasible, to enhance the positive reinforcement to students which is possible in such an arrangement.

Each student applying for help is given a personal assurance that his request will be met, and if time permits the director finds out verbally something about the student and the nature of his difficulty. The selection of instructors for a specific student is made on the basis of a Supplemental Instructor's preference for a particular course, his availability and personal attributes. These and other factors are considered vital to establishing the kind of rapport which is necessary for meaningful academic assistance. Supplemental Instructors are asked to refer students to the Director if they recognize a student having concerns which are other than academic. Such students are then counseled by the Director or are referred to the counseling center.

The Wright Start Program was originated in 1968 under the auspices of the black student union, the Committee for Advancement of Black Unity and the American Federation of Teachers at Wright State. The main purpose was to stimulate interest in college, but not necessarily Wright State, among " culturally disadvantaged" high school students in Dayton and surrounding areas.

Transportation and books were provided to the students at no cost. This year all personnel, including coordinators, instructors, student tutors, and graders received compensation for their time.

The program lasted for five weeks in the summer of 1970, six weeks in the summer of 1969, and eight weeks in the summer of 1968. The 1970 program met on Tuesdays and Thursdays between 7:00 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. Students could take any two courses from four subject areas -- mathematics, English, black studies, and biology -- as long as the times of the courses did not conflict.

The Wright Start Program has provided a summer college experience for 500 high school students between their sophomore year and graduation. The enrollments by year were: 1968 - 53; 1969 - 133; and 1970 - 142.

Two study skills courses, one remedial and one developmental, will be offered through the Supplemental Instruction Program. Enrollment in the courses will be on a voluntary basis. A variety of sources will be used to identify students who could profit from this instruction. A proposed innovation for Wright Start is the implementation of a spring phase for the program. Seniors in high school would be enrolled in two elementary "concept building" courses for the sciences and English. These same courses would be offered to sophomores and juniors during the summer phase. Students finishing the first phase and their senior year could take "introductory" courses offered during the summer and receive a grade of P or F, written evaluations and college credit (ex. one hour per course). These hours may be stock-piled and applicable as collective hours for those students who do go on to college. Or they may serve as a material reward to those students who do not go.

Faculty involvement, whether as referral sources, in advisory committee capacities, giving consent, or actual participation, is vital. Their inclusion from the planning stages, through the actual operation of the program and follow-up, results in greater support, acceptance and rapport among personnel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Civil Rights and Access to Higher Education

1. Davis, Paul H. "Changes Are Coming in the Colleges." Journal of Higher Education, vol. 33, p. 141-47. January, 1962.

In this article college professors and administrators anonymously offer 40 synopses of predictions of changes for colleges. Some predictions conflict, and others overlap. All cover a wide range. The 10 top colleges, institutes, and universities named by professors and administrators are also listed. In conclusion, the author himself makes the prediction that "in this decade ahead the greatest change in colleges will be a change in the attitude toward change," and that "this altered attitude may bring with it more basic and dramatic transformations than even the optimists envisage."

2. Dennis, Lawrence E. "Equalizing Educational Opportunity in Colleges and Universities." Phi Delta Kappan, vol. 45, p. 401-05. May, 1964.

The momentum behind present efforts to expand opportunities for Negroes in higher education is traced to several events in 1963. President Kennedy's initiative; the renewed efforts of the American Council on Education, including the appointment of the eight-member Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity; and the call for establishment of a central clearinghouse to provide leadership and coordination in these activities are all mentioned. The author also surveys developments in different regions of the country. The predominantly white colleges in the South still provide only limited opportunities for Negroes, whereas the predominantly Negro colleges in this region enroll practically two-thirds of all Negro students in institutions of higher learning. About 70 of these latter colleges are regionally accredited, yet as a group they cannot be considered as being fully within the mainstream of American education. Despite their shortcomings, these colleges provide a valuable resource, allowing the only realistic opportunity for college success for many Negro students. In the North, probably no more than 2 percent of the undergraduate student body is Negro, a statistic which reflects high tuition rates and lack of educational preparedness. Among the proposals recommended, particular emphasis is given to the use of a clearinghouse, through which information can be assimilated and coordinated and interested organizations can be informed of guidelines and priorities in the use of funds for equalizing educational opportunities for Negroes.

3. Emil, Sister Mary "Race Relations and Higher Education." Religious Education, vol. 59, p. 107-11. January, 1964.

Surveying the role that higher education should play in the improvement of race relations, the author makes suggestions about admissions policies, curriculum, and action programs. To compensate for the social injustice which has long plagued the Negro, the colleges and universities could begin "to assume some daring moral leadership, and voluntarily to embrace the goal of individually and collectively achieving a 10 percent Negro group in the student body, and after a decent time in the faculty and administration," thus achieving a percentage comparable to the number of Negroes in the total population. This would require increased recruiting, additional financial assistance, and relaxed admission requirements. The special role of church-related colleges is that of providing the intellectual grounding for a system of values that can resist racial injustice. These colleges can also provide leadership in the civil rights movement, thus achieving a synthesis of thought and action.

4. Ferry, N. H. "College Responsibilities and Social Expectations." Teachers College Record, vol 65, p. 99-117. November, 1963.

If measured against the real needs of the country, the American college is "floundering in a bog of self-doubt, contradictory purposes, public relations, and intellectual inertia," the author states. Criticisms of higher education and opinions about its ideal realization are discussed. Suggested solutions to the failings of American colleges include the initiation of action by a few leading institutions or by even one institution, divorce from the status quo, the abandonment of fettering Cold War commitments, and instruction of the community as to its needs and the true goals of higher education. The author maintains that colleges are a major force in forming the nation's character and in deciding its destiny.

5. Ginzberg, Eli The Negro Potential. New York, Columbia University Press, 1956, 144 p. "A deeper understanding of the economic emancipation of the American Negro--as well as of the barriers that still remain--should provide important lessons applicable to all countries where large groups still await the dawn of a day when they can develop and make better use of their potentialities." The Conservation of Human Resources Project at Columbia University in its research plan has provided for studies of two crucial groups in the population: (1) individuals with unusual endowment and capacity for superior performance; and (2) individuals with handicaps of one type or another that have made it difficult for them to meet performance standards. Based on information about the population for military service during World War II, it was found that problems of the illiterate and poorly educated were more regional than national. The largest number of illiterates was found among the rural Negro population in the Southeast. This book discusses the progress of the Negro

in America and the challenge of Negro potential; expanding economic opportunities and guides for action; the educational preparation of the Negro, problems of Negro education, and the quality of Negro education; the Negro soldier; the better preparation of the Negro for work; and lessons for manpower policy.

6. Hannah, John A. "Civil Rights and the Public Universities." Journal of Higher Education, vol. 37, p. 61-67. February, 1967.

Universities have no choice but to serve the cause of social improvement, Hannah believes. In recognizing that the rights of life, liberty, and especially the pursuit of happiness extend to all citizens, universities can accomplish a great deal where legislatures and courts have been limited in effectiveness in dealing with today's civil rights problems. An important task of education lies in persuading the Negro to make the best use of educational opportunities, in persuading him that education is a way out of his present economic and social straits. Education should not give encouragement to the notion that a college education is essential to a happy and productive life, however. Universities specifically can assist minority groups in making the best use of educational opportunities, in preparing teachers for slum schools, in offering their resources to local boards of education, in persuading the public that it takes money to correct educational inequality, and in acknowledging the fact that the problems of civil rights exist everywhere. Universities can also make a significant contribution by encouraging directors of research and service programs to put high priority on work that advances progress in solving the complicated problems of civil rights.

7. Kurland, Norman D. "More Negroes in College: A Program for Action Now." School and Society, vol. 94, p. 41-43. January, 1966.

"Higher education in the U. S. has shared with the rest of our society a blindness to the rights and needs of our colored citizens." Suggestions about what higher education might do to take action on this problem and to increase the number of Negroes enrolled in colleges and universities include the establishment of a reasonable admission figure and admission goal. Selection procedures, economic problems, space, and faculty are also discussed. The author points out that there are certain advantages for colleges which participate in the proposed effort to increase the enrollment of Negroes in colleges, but that the increase in enrollment is only possible if the colleges wish to do it.

8. McGrath, Earl J. The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition. New York, Institute of Higher Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1965. 170 p.

"Opening the doors to higher education for the Negro is an indispensable step, indeed the sine qua non in his personal and social advancement." Many of the nation's Negro colleges, however, are handicapped by the same conditions that restricted developments in other small colleges 15 years ago. Nevertheless, curricula, faculties, students, and facilities of Negro colleges have a potential for improvement. Generalizations about these institutions take into account the wide variations in quality and character among them. Conclusions based on the study indicate that Negro institutions are primarily preoccupied by teaching rather than research, that Negro institutions enroll more women than men, that entering students are generally less well prepared for college work than those in other colleges, that because of lack of money many students have difficulty completing their education, and that most of these institutions suffer from lack of funds to sustain their programs at adequate levels. Recommendations based on the study include the maintenance and strengthening of existing institutions, the coordination of institutional efforts and the establishment of cooperation among institutions; long-range planning, and faculty development. Curriculum changes are also suggested; and remedial programs, student instructional aids, counseling, and sources of financial aid are discussed. Appendices and a bibliography supplement the study.

9. McKendall, Benjamin W. "Breaking the Barriers of Cultural Disadvantage and Curriculum Imbalance." Phi Delta Kappan, vol. 47, p. 307-11. March, 1965.

The barriers to college admission for minority group students, primarily Negroes, coming from deprived educational backgrounds, are discussed in terms of curriculum imbalance and cultural disadvantage. Changes at the college level are only palliative, since deprivation begins at the elementary school; yet these reforms are still necessary. The usual admissions procedures are insufficiently flexible to allow for the primary and secondary schooling of the disadvantaged. However, another problem is seen in reverse discrimination and "instant negritude" (tokenism) practiced by some well-meaning colleges. For minority students, the problems of college admission and financial aid are inseparable if there is to be greater access to higher education. The most help is needed by minority group students with "modest credentials" who have the greatest financial need; the most talented minority students can usually get aid. Several kinds of programs to increase minority group college enrollment are helpful: local compensatory and enrichment projects, exchange plans, tutoring, and special programs run by colleges and secondary schools. Current college curricular changes are most often geared to the able student and reflect a fading line between high schools that offer advanced courses, and the colleges. These reforms are yet another barrier for those from disadvantaged backgrounds.

10. Smith, Charles U. "Race Relations and the New Agenda for Higher Education: A Plea for University Leadership." Phi Delta Kappan, vol. 46, p. 453-56. May, 1965.

The proposition is put forth that whenever the role and status of the Negro have changed, American social institutions have developed philosophical and moral concepts, as well as concrete techniques, which support his new function and position. This has not been accomplished, however, by American higher education with regard to the Negro's desegregated position since 1954. It is time for "the scientific validity, pedagogical soundness, and democratic feasibility of racial desegregation in American society" to be demonstrated, the author maintains. Several suggestions for a "new agenda" for higher education are proposed. Greater use must be made of scholarly and creative literature by and about Negroes. Formal courses dealing with the Negro in America should be initiated, and there should be more systematic research on the Negro. The author concludes with a plea for increased participation and responsibility by higher education in the implementation of true democratic practices in American race relations.

B. Programs and Practices

11. American Council on Education, "Higher Education as a National Resource: A Proposed Federal Program." School and Society, vol. 91, p. 218-21. May, 1963.

This proposal for a program of Federal action notes the great pressure on colleges and universities to provide for the vastly increasing number of students seeking a higher education. In order to provide the needed facilities and innovations to accommodate these students the Federal Government must supplement other sources of support. The proposal gives primary emphasis to the construction of physical facilities for instruction, research, and student housing. Second priority is given to the need for more financial assistance to qualified students. Programs, furthermore, should be expanded to increase the supply of college teachers as well as the quality of instruction and research.

12. Association of Colleges and Universities, "Guidelines for Self-Study by Colleges." Integrated Education, vol. 2, p. 27-29. December, 1964-January, 1965.

In spite of the constructive measures taken by institutions in New York State in order to open their doors to qualified students without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin, much more needs to be done. The College Committee on the Disadvantaged recommends that each institution of higher learning in the state of New York reevaluate its procedures, practices, and image to make sure it is providing equal educational opportunity for students and faculty. Guidelines are suggested, as well as questions under each topic to expedite the self-study.

13. Bindman, Aaron M. "Pre-college Preparation of Negro College Students." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 35, p. 313-21. Fall, 1966.

A study of 154 Negro male undergraduates attending a large midwestern state university indicated that only 30 percent had pre-college test scores (indicated by the American College Test or the School and Ability Test) above the 50th percentile of the population in the specific college of their choice within the university. Contrary to expectations, differences in the degree of integration in the Negro subjects' high school, socioeconomic background, and high school rank did not produce significant differences in academic preparation. The author stresses the importance of these findings for future programs and policies attempting to rectify the unequal preparation of Negro students for college. He suggests that "the doctrine of 'race consciousness' may not sit well with some administrators, but it may be what is required to aid educationally disadvantaged Negro students until substantive changes are made in their academic preparation."

14. Branson, Herman R. "Interinstitutional Programs for Promoting Equal Higher Educational Opportunities for Negroes." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 35, p. 469-76. Fall, 1966.

One of the ways in which the predominantly Negro colleges can more effectively compete for increased financial support and good students is through an interinstitutional arrangement, whereby schools of "recognized excellence" assist these Negro schools in becoming better institutions. This survey of cooperative programs is limited to formal agreements involving students, faculty, curriculum, cultural events, and administrative practices. The possibilities of Federal support for such programs are also discussed.

15. Brown, Nicholas C., ed. Higher Education: Incentives and Obstacles, A Conference Report on Encouraging Incentive for Higher Education Among Talented but Disadvantaged Youth. Washington, American Council on Education, 1960. 165 p.

The importance of the concept of equality of educational opportunity can be measured by its degree of realization in a relatively short period of time, but its degree of failure must also be confronted. The American Council on Education's Committee on Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education "has long been concerned with the loss of development of human talent resulting from lack of personal incentive." Approximately 100,000 to 200,000 talented high school graduates do not continue their education each year due either to lack of money or lack of motivation. It is estimated that probably as many of equal ability drop out before high school graduation. From November 1-3, 1959, the committee sponsored a Conference on Encouraging Incentive for Higher Education among Talented but Disadvantaged Youth. This publication is a report on that conference. It deals with topics related to the development of human resources such as the removal of financial obstacles and environmental barriers. The conference focused on the encouragement of personal incentive, the identification of forces that stifle this incentive, and the initiation of action to counteract such forces. Panel discussions; papers, some with bibliographies; tables; and a list of participants, are included.

16. Bush, Dixon "Antioch Program for Interracial Education: Interim Report." 1965, unpublished. 4 p.

"A historical statement about the education of Negro students at Antioch College," this is an interim report on a "risk-recruiting" project to seek out Negro students not normally qualified for Antioch, or not even college-bound. The program, begun in 1964, involves early recruitment, pre-entry counseling, financial aid, and research on effective teaching methods for this group. Students have been selected from Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and southwestern Ohio. Antioch-connected selectors (six in each area were found to be optimal) from agencies, schools, and churches were used to screen candidates. There was no shortage of qualified Negro students with whom "bridge-building" activities were successful. A slower pace will be needed in working with high school sophomores and juniors than with seniors in order to prepare them for admission. Increasing Negro aspirations for education will bring an unfamiliar population to the colleges; therefore, data derived from this prototype program may be useful.

17. Clark, Burton R. The Open Door College: A Case Study. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1960. 207 p.

"The schools and colleges of the country transmit the general culture, train the young, and nourish (or deplete) basic social values." A comprehension of the forms that modern educational educational organizations are assuming will make a contribution to the better understanding of educational problems and general theory of organizations. This book is oriented toward the view that organizations have identifiable characters and roles in the larger society. Its perspective is based on intensive analysis in the form of a case study of the 20th century.

phenomenon of the junior college--San Jose Junior College. Informal interviews, analysis of documents, and a questionnaire were means of gathering information for the study. "Comparative data and comparisons of characteristics of other types of schools about which much is already known are used to generalize about a type of educational organization." Because San Jose Junior College has just recently been established, care had to be taken not to make premature analyses. The study deals with the administrative setting of San Jose Junior College and resulting problems; the student clientele of the college as shaped by admission policy; and the further effects of administrative setting and student clientele, traced in regard to the evolution of formal organizational structures, the composition and organization of staff, and the building of an appropriate instructional force. Findings about these topics provide the empirical materials for interpreting and describing organizatio character. The problems of the junior college as a kind of mass enterprise are analyzed, and the roles of the junior college in higher edication are discussed. The appendices to to the book deal with methodological explanations. There is also a bibliography.

18. Froe, Otis D. "Educational Planning for Disadvantaged College Youth." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 33, p. 290-303. Summer, 1964.

The task of identifying the needs of the college population termed disadvantaged and of examining them as they might relate to educational planning, is a complex matter. There is a great diversity of norms and values in various student subcultures in institutions. Needs must be considered in terms of student behaviors demanded by the academic subculture on college campuses. Some characteristics of the disadvantaged youth, of the academic environment, and implications for educational planning are discussed. Three processes involved in planning to meet the needs of the disadvantaged college youth are the study of the characteristics of the learner which are related to academic achievement, the study and analysis of the learning environment, and the examination of the congruence between the learning environment and the learner. Planning for disadvantaged youths must be characterized by a cycle of planning, evaluation, and replanning. Specific ways for meeting student needs will be determined often by the particular facilities and resources of an institution of higher education.

19. Froe, Otis D. "Meeting the Needs of College Youth: The Morgan State College Program." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 35, p. 422-29. Fall, 1966.

The author briefly describes the educational program at Morgan State College, a predominantly Negro college that has for many years been concerned with the needs of disadvantaged youth. The college has introduced a flexible three-track program in which placement is dependent on precollege records and subject to periodic review and change. Two of these programs are directed toward the "atypical" freshman and emphasize either overcoming accumulated learning deficits, particularly in basic learning skills, or increasing the performance of the student with high academic potential. Significant improvements have been made by students in these specialized curricula.

20. Gideonse, Harry D. Brooklyn College and the Disadvantaged. New York, Brooklyn College, City University of New York, 1965. 22 p.

"The education of the culturally disadvantaged is not new to Brooklyn College." This publication discusses the orientation, programs, and problems of Brooklyn College in dealing with culturally disadvantaged students. Features of the college favoring the attraction of the culturally disadvantaged include free tuition, availability of work, day and evening programs, respect for education, and its nonresidential aspects. Problems related to the college's interest in education for the disadvantaged include the stimulation of interest at an earlier level, the determination of the nature of training for prospective

22. Love, Theresa R. "Needs and Approaches for Developing Linguistic Abilities." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 35, pp. 400-08. Fall, 1966.

The teaching of English in Negro colleges is presently at a standstill--with teachers despairing student apathy and inadequacy and students abandoning any hope of mastering standard English. Several changes in attitudes, materials, and approaches are suggested which could break this stalemate. The attitude that students speak improperly and that bad habits should be stamped out is the result of a failure to recognize in these linguistic patterns a legitimate, separate, and distinct variety of English. Once this is recognized, teachers must revise their aims and approaches to the teaching of standard English. The enrichment rather than the elimination of non-standard usage is the appropriate goal of teachers. Textbooks and materials should be designed in which standard English is presented as a second language, utilizing foreign language techniques, to those accustomed to speaking the nonstandard dialect. Four approaches to the teaching of English are discussed: the linguistic approach, a moderate use of the descriptive grammar approach, the oral approach, and the writing approach. Each approach emphasizes the special linguistic characteristics of Negro students which may be positively utilized.

23. Martyn, Kenneth A. Increasing Opportunities in Higher Education for Disadvantaged Students. Sacramento, California, Coordinating Council for Higher Education, 1966. 74 p.

On-campus visits, an inventory of provisions for disadvantaged students from all segments of higher education, and related literature on the subject were utilized in a survey of oppunities for higher education in California. The major proportion of disadvantaged students attending college in California are enrolled in junior colleges. Although special recruiting practices and off-campus tutorial programs are not as well developed as those of state colleges or the university, the junior college counseling, remedial, and instructional programs are particularly suited to disadvantaged students once they are enrolled. Several recommendations are made for future programs which may help to overcome existing financial, geographic, motivational, and academic barriers to increased opportunity. In addition to expanded tutorial programs, financial assistance, and recruiting practices, it is recommended that the Coordinating Council consider locating residential campuses in disadvantaged urban areas, establishing ethnic admissions quotas in these areas, increasing participation in community involvement projects, expanding research on the disadvantaged, and giving particular attention to the possible employment of the 2 percent exception to state college and university first-time admission procedures for the admission of disadvantaged students. The report also includes the recommendations of the California Coordinating Council on Higher Education which are in part based on the author's recommendations.

24. Meister, Morris, et. al. "Operation Second Chance." Junior College Journal, vol. 33, p. 78-88. October, 1962.

Concerned by the fact that many poor achievers in high school, who are victims of "disabling socio-educational factors" or cultural deprivation, apply for and are rejected by colleges, the Bronx Community College conducted a pilot remedial program to see if special guidance and instruction in English and mathematics would improve academic potential. Operation Second Chance: the Pre-College Enrichment Studies Program operated from February, 1960, to June, 1961, under a Ford Foundation grant. In all, 20 students the first semester and 40 the next received five months of tuition-free guidance and instruction four nights a week. Although the number was "too small for definitive statistical interpretations," the conclusions were that "thousands" of high school graduates could "profit significantly" from college after pre-enrichment; 65 percent of the sample are continuing higher education; and improvements were noted in standard objective test scores, motivation, attitude toward school work, self-confidence, skills, and in establishing more realistic educational and job goals. Since conventional predictors of academic potential--college admissions tests and high school records--are not culture-free, different criteria must be used to tap those at the lower end of the ability spectrum. It is suggested that different and/or more flexible programs of higher education be developed for these students in terms of degree requirements, length of course, curricula, etc., at the same time maintaining excellence of standards and staff. The community colleges are valuable for meeting these problems.

25. Meister, Morris and Tauber, Abraham "Experiments in Expanding Educational Opportunity for the Disadvantaged: Bronx Community College." Phi Delta Kappan, vol. 46, p. 340-42. March, 1965.

The Bronx Community College has carried on two programs designed to make more places available for students in higher education, while still preserving the standards and integrity of the educational programs being offered. Operation Second Chance is a program of special guidance and instruction in English language and mathematics for high school graduates denied admission to college. The results of the program indicate that, with special treatment, students both in the upper and lower strata of verbal and quantitative abilities can be motivated to achieve academically, that positive changes in attitude about scholastic work can be effected, and that more realistic career objectives can be established. The findings of this program point to the importance of counseling and guidance as well as to the importance of excellence in instruction. The specific findings have been incorporated into the basic orientation of the Bronx Community College and extended to a broad attack on the problem of higher education for the disadvantaged in a new project called the College Discovery Program. Some 250 students, who were considered not admissable according to the usual requirements, were admitted to two community colleges.

with admission procedures, specific colleges, summer opportunities, and career information.

28. Plaut, Richard L. "Closing the Educational Gap." Journal of the Intergroup Relations, vol. 3, p. 138-45. 1962.

This article summarizes the work of a demonstration project conducted in 1966 at Manhattan's Junior High School and George Washington High School to identify and prepare for college able students from deprived homes. After four years, students in the project exhibited increases in reading rates, and many graduates were able to enter four-year colleges. The drop-out rate was reduced by half, and discipline problems almost disappeared. A counseling service, the Community Talent Search, was established to offer college guidance. Other programs, such as Higher Horizons, were created as a result of the success of this program. It is now essential that a National Talent Foundation similar to the National Science Foundation be established to provide opportunities for children from depressed areas, the author states.

29. Reid, Robert D. "Curricular Changes in Colleges and Universities for Negroes: Analysis and Interpretation of a Questionnaire Survey." Journal of Higher Education, vol. 38, p. 153-60. March, 1967.

Analysis of the current catalogs of 75 institutions and of questionnaire responses by 35 Negro colleges indicates that these schools emphasize training in professional and vocational areas, the latter orientation being particularly evident in publicly supported institutions. Perhaps the most pressing need is strengthening of the liberal arts disciplines. In most of these schools, curricular options are limited, making it almost impossible for students to establish a minor field. Among the changes currently being considered by these institutions are the following: reducing the amount of credit for remedial courses in English and mathematics, reorganizing courses in communications skills, introducing more courses in marketing and business management, and using closed-circuit television for instructional purposes. Many of the difficulties in instructional innovation can be attributed to financial limitations and the generally limited training of the schools' faculties. The author suggests that these institutions re-examine their programs in light of their educational goals, particularly with respect to the changing employment opportunities for Negroes.

30. Schoen, Sterling H. and others, "Proposed Program for Graduate Study in Business for Negroes: Report of Feasibility Conference and Program Coordinating Committee Meeting." 1966, unpublished. 88 p.

The findings and recommendations of a conference held at Washington University in St. Louis on August 8-9, 1966, are discussed. The proposed program, to be executed by a consortium of the graduate business schools of Indiana University, Washington University, and the University of Wisconsin, is designed to provide Negroes with the qualifications needed to compete successfully for managerial positions in American business. Conference members stressed the importance of implementing extensive recruiting practices at both integrated and predominantly Negro colleges and "of making this an elite program." A pregraduate summer program, however, is recommended in which attention could be directed at remedying individual needs in areas such as research skills, reading and communication skills, and analytical and mathematical skills. In addition to formal graduate study, the program also includes provisions for a summer business internship with a cooperating firm, job placement, and summer seminars for business faculty of predominantly Negro colleges. The author's affiliation is with the Graduate School of Business Administration at Washington University.

31. Stokes, Maurice S. "A Brief Survey of Higher Education for Negroes." The Social Studies, vol. 55, p. 214-21. November, 1964.

The total number of Negro institutions of higher learning was fairly stable in the period between 1953 and 1961, amounting to slightly more than 100. Enrollment has advanced rapidly during this period, and the author projects that by 1980 it will triple or even quadruple. The permanent contribution of a general education program and the needed expansion of curriculum and instructional practices are discussed. Religious activities form an integral part of campus life in the Negro colleges. The survey reviews inter-institutional cooperative arrangements, financial matters, educational facilities, and opportunities for graduate work and research at these schools.

32. Wheeler, Robert A. The Kansas City Scholarship Program: Progress Report. Kansas City, Missouri, Department of Guidance, School District, 1963. 29 p.

The Kansas City Special Scholarship Program was initiated as an experimental effort to increase the enrollment of students, especially Negro students, from economically, culturally, and educationally marginal segments of the population in college. Scholarships, individual counseling, group guidance, and auxiliary programs designed to assist and support students in entering and continuing through college were introduced by the program. Examples of students, their success and failure, and the pressure of family economic needs are discussed. Tables show student selection, participation, and progress; characteristics of students in the program; their derivation by college classes and high school; their distribution by family income, SCAT scores, and class rank; and the colleges and universities they attended. Appropriations, expenditures, and average total costs of students attending college are discussed, as well as types of auxiliary programs, administration of the program, and community work.

C. Characteristics of Disadvantaged Students

33. Beilin, Harry "The Pattern of Postponability and Its Relation to Social Class Mobility." Journal of Social Issues, vol. 44, p. 33-48. August, 1956.

This study deals with the degree of willingness of subjects to postpone immediate satisfactions. In order to test the hypothesis that a difference exists between male high school graduates from lower to socioeconomic backgrounds who plan to go to college and those who do not, the responses of 139 male subjects (with Otis I.Q.'s of 110 or higher) were analyzed. Attitudes about marriage, extent of social participation, possession of material goods, perception of self, occupational aspiration, and school participation were investigated. The results suggest that the concept of gratification postponement as it pertains to a conscious deferring process by the college-going boy from lower socioeconomic groups in need of modification. To such a youth, going to college involves "the gratification of values he has developed rather than a relinquishing of valued behaviors." From the observer's frame of reference, there may be a characteristic pattern of behavior for the potentially upward-mobile boy of a lower socioeconomic background. He is older when he marries, he has more positive attitudes toward school and related activities, he has higher occupational aspirations, and he possesses greater motivation, which he perceives as contributing most to his ultimate success.

34. Bradley, Nolan E. "The Negro Undergraduate Student: Factors Relative to Performance in Predominantly White State Colleges and Universities in Tennessee." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 36, p. 15-23. Winter, 1967.

Data from high school and college records, from interviews with college deans, and from two questionnaires distributed respectively to faculty and students were analyzed for Negro undergraduates at seven formerly all-white institutions. The results indicate that although desegregation at these schools was accepted, integration was progressing at a variable and slow pace and that only minimal social integration existed. Negroes attend these schools because they are less expensive; they offer more and better opportunities than Negro colleges; and they are closer to home. A multiple regression analysis revealed the general lack of predictive value of American College Test scores for the academic success of Negro students. Instructors felt that the most serious academic deficiencies of Negroes were in the language arts, particularly in communication skills. Suggestions for the improved success of Negro college students are discussed, including remedial noncredit college courses.

35. Brazziel, William F. "Needs, Values, and Academic Achievement." Improving College and University Teaching, p.159-63. Summer, 1964.

This study was designed "to explore the need and value structures" of a low SES college sample and relationship of these structures to academic achievement. A total of 100 Negro upperclassmen, randomly selected from the student body of an urban Negro college in a border state, were administered the Allport-Vernon-Lindsay Scale of Values and the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule. Results showed that the "needs and values of this sample differed from middle income groups in many ways, and the patterns of relationships of needs and values to academic achievement were not significantly high." The sample scored lower than the norm on economic and aesthetic values, but higher on religious and social values. They differed largely in "what might be termed face to face aspects of human relations." The needs for dominance, autonomy, achievement, and heterosexuality were significantly lower than the norm, while the need for deference was higher. Results were compared with those from a similar study involving medical students. Medical students showed a significantly negative relationship between the need for nurturance and theoretical values and between affiliation needs and aesthetic values, while the lower-class sample showed a high positive correlation on the same measures. The lower-class group showed a small negative correlation between social values and aggression needs, between political values and succorance needs, and a high positive correlation between theoretical values and a need for autonomy, exhibition, and succorance which the medical student sample did not evidence. Though needs and values of various groups are different, specific relationships to academic achievement are unproved. If colleges must "middle-classize" low SES students, they should strive to preserve the "generosity in spirit" which seems to characterize them.

36. Clark, Kenneth B. "The Negro College Student: Some Facts and Some Concerns." Journal of the Association of College Admissions Counselors. Winter, 1964.

The author summarizes the findings of two follow-up studies conducted by the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students on the achievement of Negro students in interracial colleges. The Negro student has been successful in college, but he has emerged with a lack of commitment to the struggle for interracial justice. It is felt that a major role for education must be this development of "social and ethical sensitivity" in all students. American educational institutions have defaulted in this role. Also discussed is the range of social consequences of a superficial, conformist education that does not stress morality and moral commitment to social justice.

37. Clark, Kenneth B. and Plotkin, Lawrence The Negro Student at Integrated Colleges. New York, National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, 1963. 68 p.

This study followed up Negro students who had sought assistance from the National Scholarship Service Fund for Negro Students in order to attend interracial colleges. Data for 509 students were obtained from the preschool information sheet filled out at the time of

NSSFNS contact, from college transcripts, and from postgraduate questionnaires. Students' drop-out rates were much less than the national average for whites and for Negroes attending segregated colleges. Financial difficulties was the major reason given for dropping out. On the whole, the college grades of these students were average, depending more on high school average and parents' education and profession than on parents' income or students' precollege test scores. Almost all of the students judged their college experience very favorably; however, there were some indications of racial problems and pressures. "While the data clearly revealed that the college trained Negro is no longer required to hold a menial position, he is not yet fully integrated into private industry and commerce. He is still dependent upon government and private agencies for the utilization of his skills."

38. Coleman, James S. and others Equality of Educational Opportunity, p. 367-445. Washington, U. S. Office of Education, 1966.

This report discusses the findings of a survey conducted by the National Center for Educational Statistics of the U. S. Office of Education. Statistics on higher education indicate that about 4.6 percent of all college students are Negro and that more than half of them are enrolled in the largely segregated institutions of the South and Southwest. Negro students are enrolled in colleges with substantially lower faculty salaries and with lower proportions of faculty possessing Ph.D.'s. Other findings suggest that Negro students are more likely to enter the state college system than the state university system, are more frequently found in institutions with high drop-out rates; are likely to attend institutions with low tuition cost; and are apt to major in engineering, agriculture, education, social work, social science, and nursing. Data on the qualifications of students preparing for careers in teaching reveal some evidence that the gap in preparation for college work that exists between majority students and Negro students continues to widen--at least in the South--during the college years.

39. Davis, Martel W. "The Ivy League Negro--A View from Further South." Esquire, vol. 61, p. 161-67. April, 1964.

The author contrasts his experiences with those reported by William Kelley in "The Ivy League Negro." Regardless of where he is, the Negro is always reminded of his race; the Ivy League attitude toward Negroes is no exception. There are two hierarchies in America: one for Negroes and one for whites. There are those at the top of the former hierarchy, however, who have embraced the myth of a separate Negro America, because it provides a setting in which they can assert their superiority to less-educated Negroes. Many of these students, therefore, seek "accommodation with the white 'system' as leaders of Negro society, and use this pseudo-acceptancy as status in the Negro community."

40. Fichter, Joseph H. "Career Preparation and Expectations of Negro College Seniors." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 35, p. 322-35. Fall, 1966.

This article reports the findings of a survey study made by the National Opinion Research Center in 50 predominantly Negro colleges. The responses provide support for the hypothesis that where few opportunities are available, there will be less cause for students to explore alternative possibilities. A considerable proportion of the students, 58 percent of the men and 45 percent of the women, had decided on their occupational choice by their freshman year. Teaching was the largest vocational choice indicated for both men and women. The respondents also indicated when they felt Negroes would have job opportunities equal to those of whites at comparable educational levels. About 75 percent felt that it would take the nation about 20 years to achieve this goal. Expectations were slightly higher for large northern cities, and slightly lower for the southern states. The great majority of these students expected to continue their education beyond their college degree. The people entering social work formed the highest proportion and those entering medicine the lowest proportion of those who felt that qualified Negroes have equal opportunities for graduate training in their respective fields. It can be noted that these students have a relatively high interest in occupations involving "human values."

41. Gurin, Patricia "Social Class Constraints on the Occupational Aspirations of Students Attending Some Predominantly Negro Colleges." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 35, p. 336-50. Fall, 1966.

The findings reported in this study are based on an analysis of questionnaires administered to 4,000 students at ten predominantly Negro colleges in the South by the Survey Research Center. When the student's year in college was controlled, social class differences in aspiration were found only among freshmen, which suggested that social class operates only at the point when the student first leaves home. Results of this study, therefore, apply only to freshmen measured at the point of entering college. At this level, high-status parents--those with higher incomes and higher education as well as those who have had the greatest influence on their children--can influence certain kinds of aspirations. With males, occupational choices that are prestigeful and highly demanding of ability are facilitated, while the choice of nontraditional occupational choices is discouraged. For females, the findings were comparable. The results are discussed in terms of the different values held by educated Negroes and the increasing opportunities being made available to them.

42. Heist, Paul "Diversity in College Student Characteristics." Journal of Educational Sociology, vol. 33, p. 279-91. February, 1960.

This paper raises questions about and reviews some pertinent data on the extent and type of differences among students in institutions of higher education. That there is great diversity in student composition is demonstrated by two primary sources of information: (1) a study of the selectivity of U. S. colleges and universities at the point of intake in which data take the form of total scores on the American Council of Education

Psychological Exam (ACE) from a stratified, representative sample of 18,850 institutions; and (2) a project conducted in cooperation with the National Merit Scholarship Corporation in which data are drawn from a study of the winners and near-winners of the National Merit Scholarships during the first year of the program--1956. Tables of scores are included in the paper. Data are examined according to differences in academic ability and variations in college students in some nonintellective characteristics. Diversity among college and university students is illustrated, and the data make the question about correctness of choice of school legitimate for high-ability students. It is suggested also that perhaps this question is pertinent for all college students.

43. Kelley, William M. "The Ivy League Negro." Esquire, vol. 60, p. 54-6, 108-09. August, 1963.

The attitudes and experiences of an upper-class Negro while attending Harvard are discussed. In the effort to become completely integrated into the mainstream of American life, the educated Negro sometimes adopts the stereotypes and prejudices of mainstream America--including color prejudice. The result is an ambiguous attitude toward the uneducated Negro--ridiculing him for his cultural deficits while envying him for his spontaneity. The author suggests that in an academic community like Harvard, "a Negro can forget almost entirely about his skin, his Negro consciousness."

44. "Negroes and the College." Columbia College Today, vol. 12, p. 15-19. Fall, 1964.

In some ways Negroes are unprepared to take advantage of the many opportunities that have been made available to them in the 1960's. They lack sufficient leadership, economic expertise, family stability, and education. These shortcomings must be understood within the historical contest of white American attitudes toward Negroes and their education.

This article reviews that history with particular reference to Columbia College. Prior to 1960, Negroes were not actively recruited by the college; an active attempt, however, to increase Negro enrollment has now been undertaken which includes the acceptance of students whose preparation is inferior to that of many students rejected for admission. Added financial assistance has been provided to allow Negroes from New York City to live away from home, thus avoiding the additional conflicts that arise from being in two very different environments at the same time. The results have been encouraging ; only the lack of qualified Negro students to take advantage of these opportunities is disheartening.

45. Noble, Jeanne L. The Negro Woman's College Education. New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1956. 163 p.

This study reports on an evaluation of college experiences by a group of more than 400 college graduate Negro women. Evaluation is based on a questionnaire, interviews, collection of statements, and interpretation, with an emphasis on a historical and philosophical review of higher education for Negro women. "The assumption underlying the study is that educational experience should be intimately related to the personal needs of people." The author gives a systematic account of the historical development of collegiate education for Negro women. She also examines the roles permitted to educated Negro women by their culture, the nature of the problem, limitations of the study and the method of study, the overall findings that seem most important to the women in the sample, and the implications of the data that are in keeping with a philosophy and program of education based on a concept of self-fulfillment. Appendices contain additional information on historical background, colleges attended, and the questionnaire used in the study. Another appendix of tables and a bibliography supplement the discussions in the study.

46. Rose, Arnold M. "Graduate Training for the 'Culturally Deprived.'" Sociology of Education, vol. 39, p. 201-08. Spring, 1966.

The culturally deprived student comes from a background which imposes limitations at the graduate school level--limitations in perspective, objectivity, scholarship, and personality, in addition to economic difficulties. Entrance to graduate training may be more difficult for these students for several reasons: many of them attend the weaker undergraduate colleges; they are more likely to be academic "late bloomers" than students from higher socioeconomic levels; and they lack information concerning graduate schools which offer a reasonable prospect for admission. Within the graduate school, culturally deprived students often feel that they are on "display." This may often create a tense, defensive personality--one filled with resentment and anxiety that may interfere with scholastic performance. Furthermore, it is often expected that the Negro graduate student, particularly in the social sciences and humanities, should be well versed in the history and activities of his group. His specialty becomes not his academic interest, but his cultural background. This tends to further separate these students from others. An awareness of the fact that cultural deprivations have not been completely lost at the graduate school level may provide the first step toward diminishing them.

47. "Six Undergraduates Speak Out." Columbia College Today, vol. 12, p. 32-33. Fall, 1964.

As part of a special issue entitled "Negroes and the College," six Negro undergraduates at Columbia College were interviewed about the role of the Negro in higher education. While some of the students expressed a concern for individual acceptance and academic excellence, others emphasized the need for active participation in those matters affecting all Negroes, particularly civil rights. These differences reflect the larger questions of where, when, and at what level the contributions of the educated Negro are going to take place.

48. Social Dynamics Research Institute, The Characteristics of the 1964 College Discovery Program Applications: A Preliminary Analysis. New York, 1965. 93 p.

This document reports the characteristics of the applicants to the College Discovery Program conducted by the City University of New York. This program provides the opportunity for low SES youth who show promise but whose high school average and test scores are lower than the City University's admission standards, to attend Bronx and Queensborough Community Colleges as "special matriculants." The program also makes it possible for these students to remedy their educational deficiencies through remedial courses during the summer preceding their freshman year and through special tutoring and counseling during the first year. After a brief description of the program, the report discusses the nomination and selection procedures of these "special" students. The personal and family backgrounds and school records of all nominees--those participating in the program, those who were accepted but did not enter, and those who were rejected--are described and compared in 48 tables.

49. Vittenson, Lillian K. "Areas of Concern to Negro College Students as Indicated by Their Responses to the Mooney Problem Check List." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 36, p. 51-57. Winter, 1967.

Findings based on the responses of 100 Negro students at Illinois Teachers College (Chicago North and Chicago South) indicated that almost all of the students were greatly concerned with being inadequately prepared for college work, self-improvement, and cultural improvement. They felt that they did not have enough time to themselves, and they feared participating in class discussions and making mistakes. These fears suggest that "feelings of social inadequacy and acceptance may be projected into the academic situation." Differences between males and females, freshman and senior students, and various age levels of the students are also discussed.

D. College Admissions and Guidance

50. Cleary, T. Anne Test Bias: Validity of the Scholastic Aptitude Test for Negro and White Students in Integrated Colleges. Princeton, Educational Testing Service, 1966. 27 p.

The purpose of this 1966 study was to determine whether the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) as a predictor of college grades is biased against Negro students. Grade-point averages (mostly from the freshman year) and SAT scores were collected from white and Negro students in three colleges--two eastern and one southwestern. The regressions of grades on SAT scores were analyzed for both groups on the assumption that if the regression lines were the same for both groups, the test would not be biased in terms of its predictive validity. High school ranks (used with the SAT in the prediction of grades) were included in the analysis wherever possible, and a sample of white students was matched with Negro students on their curriculum to ascertain if it were a factor in differences in regression. The results, reported in seven tables, showed that in the two eastern colleges "there was no significant differences in the regression lines of the two groups." In the southwestern school, however, "the Negro students' scores were slightly overpredicted by the use of the common regression line," and the SAT was found to be biased in favor of the Negro students.

51. Cleary, T. Anne and Hilton, Thomas L. An Investigation of Item Bias. College Entrance Examination Board Research and Development Report 65-6, No. 12. Princeton, Educational Testing Service, 1966. 25 p.

This study investigated the possibility of differential difficulty of Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test (PSAT) items for different racial and SES groups. The subjects were two groups totaling 1,410 Negro and white high school seniors in an integrated high school who had each taken one form of the PSAT. They were divided into three SES levels on the basis of father's occupation, father's and mother's education, and the House-Home Index. A three-factor analysis of variance designed was used (race, SES, and item), and results are reported with the aid of four tables and five figures. Findings indicate that "there were few items producing an uncommon discrepancy between the performance of Negro and white students." On the basis of the results, it is concluded that "if PSAT scores are discriminatory, the discrimination is not largely attributable to particular items, but to the test as a whole."

52. Hager, Walter E. "Challenges to Public Higher Education." School and Society, vol. 91, p. 200-01. April, 1963.

This article briefly outlines the discussions that took place at the second annual meeting of the Association of State Colleges and Universities. Universal educational opportunity, "Selective Admission vs. The Open Door," an analysis of the Federal interest in higher education, the comprehensive aid-to-education bill, and average fees for resident students in public colleges and universities were topics of discussion.

53. Hutchins, Francis S. "A College's Work with Rural Disadvantaged Students." In The Search for Talent: College Admissions, p. 79-84. New York, College Entrance Examination Board, 1960.

This paper, delivered at the Seventh Colloquium on College admissions held by the College Entrance Examination Board, discusses the admission procedures and the search for "talented youth" of Berea College, a coeducational institution in Kentucky devoted to making higher education available to students with limited financial means, mostly from the southern Appalachian mountain area. Academic, economic, and occupational data are presented to describe the typical Berea student.

54. Kendrick, S. A. "College Board Scores and Cultural Bias." College Board Review, No. 55, p. 7-9. Winter, 1964-65.

It is generally considered a risk for colleges to accept students with low College Board scores regardless of their cultural backgrounds. However, there is a growing awareness that tests may be culturally biased, and that culturally and socially disadvantaged children "are probably underestimated fairly often by both adults and by tests that adults devise."

The tests assume that students, regardless of their backgrounds, have gained a common knowledge "even within the wide limits of different school curriculums." Yet if an examinee is a Hawaiian of Japanese ancestry or a Negro from Harlem, with an experiential background divergent from the "American culture" norm, his lower scores do not necessarily reflect a lower ability level. Though it is extremely difficult to judge "exactly which students are meaningfully within a minority culture for purposes of college admissions testing," it is important that an admissions officer, dealing with an applicant who is apparently from a minority culture and who has marginally low College Board scores, examine closely the candidate's previous environment with the suspicion that the tests may not fit the student. It may also be that deficiencies revealed in the test scores are real, but remediable "under optimum conditions." Colleges that are confident in their programs can afford to take a risk in admitting a deprived applicant, but they should be prepared for an unsatisfactory record during the first or second year and should behave after admission "as though the scores are precisely accurate" by taking pains with the academic, social, and living conditions provided. Kenneth Clark has pointed out that Negro youths tend to persevere in college when accepted, because they have no place to go if they drop out. "Low scores do suggest risk, but often a risk worth taking."

55. Killingsworth, Charles C. "Double-Screening of College Students." Integrated Education, vol. 2, p. 47. April, 1964.

There is a kind of double-screening of potential college students based on the ability to pay and on the ability to learn. The ability-to-pay screening is the most rigorous and effective. A recent government study of college attendance and nonattendance indicates that too many children of low ability go to college while too many of high ability do not go to college. The author suggests, however, that lack of money is not the sole factor which prevents able students from going to college; but he adds that we do not really know the extent to which a "lack of motivation" reflects the attitude of acceptance of the poor of inadequate finances to attend college.

56. Plaut, Richard L. Blueprint for Talent Searching: America's Hidden Manpower. New York, National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, 1957. 48 p.

Reported in this article are projects in the South and New York City established to identify and stimulate able students from deprived groups and to facilitate their obtaining a suitable education. Financial investment, applied energies, and technical instruments for identifying and developing submerged talent have been inadequate both in absolute terms and in terms of our national resources and educational budgets. NSSFNS has been established particularly to increase opportunities for Negroes in interracial colleges and universities. Methods and results of the NSSFNS Southern Project are described. A follow-up study of students aided by NSSFNS indicated that although most of them had a poor secondary history, almost all were successful in college. (Grades were also related to social and personal adjustment.) A "blueprint for talent searching" through community efforts is outlined. The role of the school is to identify, stimulate, and motivate promising students; enrich the curricula; improve counselor and teacher awareness about college admission practices; offer adequate guidance services; and find the necessary financial aid for able candidates.

57. Plaut, Richard L. "How to Get Into College Without Money." Educational Record, p. 34-41. January, 1961.

Essentially directed to guidance counselors, this paper offers advice on getting into college without money. The focus is on needy, culturally deprived, and minority group students. Certain crucial types of classifications of colleges (not available in publications) are given by current competitive admission standards, available financial aid, and the institution's attitudes toward a heterogeneous student body. There are four general rules which counselors should observe in matching student and college: (1) students should be advised to take an early screening test (NMSQT or PSAT) in the junior year; (2) class rank should be given more weight than grades; (3) the school's recommendations over a period of years should be "consistent, conscientious, and objective"; and (4) undue weight should not be given to extracurricular activities (only a "plus value"). Negro students have the additional resource of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students.

58. Smith, Paul M., Jr. "The Realism of Counseling for Scholarship Aid with Freshmen in the Negro College." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 33, p. 93-96. Winter, 1964.

Many high school counselors are being approached for the first time by youth desiring to attend predominantly Negro colleges. For many students, financial aid is an important precondition for higher education. This report surveys the general nature of financial assistance available to prospective freshmen in Negro colleges based on the information published in the catalogues of several public and private colleges for the 1961-62 school year. Much of the information in these catalogues is general and vague. Its value to counselors is questioned. Employing the criteria used by the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, the estimated yearly expense in the Negro college may be classified as "high-low to low-average." The author finds that the amount of aid available is limited and often on a noncontinuing basis. Financial factors tend to balance out regarding private and public colleges due to median increased scholarship aid in the former and decreased median costs in the latter. It is recommended that information on these matters be discussed with prospective college students as a standard procedure.

59. Stalnaker, John M. "Scholarship Selection and Cultural Disadvantage." National Association of Secondary-School Principals Bulletin, vol. 49, p. 142-50. March, 1965.

The National Merit Scholarship Program is based on identifying those students who will perform at a high level in college. Only after winners are selected on this basis are stipends set in accordance with needs. This procedure tends to eliminate many students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds whose effective, rather than native, intelligence is not on a level with students from more advantaged groups. Recently, however, a $7-million grant from the Ford Foundation has enabled the National Merit Scholarship Program to organize a separate program for outstanding Negro students called the National Achievement Scholarship Program. Some of the criticisms of a separate scholarship program are discussed, and a brief description of the program is included. Candidates enter the program only through nomination by qualified personnel. Approximately 230 winners are selected annually.

60. Trueblood, Dennis L. "The Role of the Counselor in the Guidance of Negro Students." Harvard Educational Review, vol. 30, p. 252-69. Summer, 1960.

"The counselor has an important role to play in the 'fullest development of the individual, educational, intellectual, and moral leadership which our society increasingly requires.'" The task requires that the counselor be an effective guidance worker for all youths, including Negroes. Some definitions and 13 content concerns lay the basis for suggestions about how the counselor might better work with a poverty-stricken population, the American Negro. The content concerns include the early organization of a guidance program; the early opportunity to study occupations and make realistic occupational and educational choices; the effects of discrimination and segregation on the personality of the Negro; his social and class background; the recognition of deficiencies in tools such as reading; the recognition of the important role of parents in motivational factors; and the recognition of the importance of performance based on a variety of data--aptitude, family occupational and educational background, and financial aid for continuing education past high school. Talent search programs and ways to utilize community resources to help in the guidance of Negro students are also discussed as important content concerns.

E. The Negro College

61. Ansley, A. Abraham and Simmons, Gertrude L. "The Educational Outlook for Nonwhites in Florida." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 35, p. 369-80. Fall, 1966.

The purpose of this study was to scrutinize the educational outlook for nonwhites in Florida and to present specific proposals which the authors feel can significantly contribute to the improvement of conditions in the future. Included among the factors which have negatively influenced the nature and quality of nonwhite education are indifferent attitudes, severely limited financial support, and salary inequities in higher education. These impediments have resulted in a rather low level of achievement by nonwhites. The authors make suggestions for comprehensive educational programs which include a "catch-up" year of intensive study in high school, altered admission policies, special programs for the training of nonprofessionals, and changes in staffing policies. They also recommend increased financial support for instructional and curricular innovations, personalized guidance services, and accommodative instructional facilities in addition to compensatory aid for disadvantaged students.

62. Badger, Henry G. "Colleges that Did Not Survive." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 35, p. 306-12. Fall, 1966.

Noting that at least 200 colleges for Negroes have closed during the past century, the author outlines some of the causes for their failure through the use of selected examples. Among the major difficulties encountered, lack of financial backing was perhaps the principal reason

64. Clement, Rufus E. "The Historical Development of Higher Education for Negro Americans." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 35, p. 299-305. Fall, 1966.

This review of the historical development of opportunities in higher education for Negro Americans begins with the formation of the first Negro institutions prior to the Civil War. The early assistance of the American Missionary Association and of privately endowed philanthropic foundations is noted. The author stresses the importance of the 1954 Supreme Court decision on segregation and the 1957 accreditation of formerly all Negro colleges by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in opening the way for increased educational opportunities for Negroes, while at the same time changing the role and nature of some of the predominantly Negro colleges. These colleges must now compete with many of the best colleges in the nation for promising Negro students and able faculty members. Despite the problems which these changes present, the Negro college can be a valuable asset to higher education with the aid of financial support and dedicated leadership.

65. Cohen, Arthur M. "The Process of Desegregation: A Case Study." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 35, p. 445-51. Fall, 1966.

Focusing on the internal administration of the school system once the plans for desegregation have been made, the author outlines certain principles common to all cases where a smooth and voluntary transition has been achieved. Three principles are stressed. "The school boards demonstrated clearly their intent to desegregate, the intent was made known to all persons directly concerned with the affected schools, and all school personnel were willing to work toward the goals set for the school system." The procedures leading to desegregation at Miami-Dade Junior College offer a case in point. Here, a phased integration plan was implemented between 1957 and 1962, with the founding of a one-college, two-campus organization, through careful and planned movement toward the recognized goal.

66. Doddy, Hurley H. "The Progress of the Negro in Higher Education." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 32, p. 485-92. Fall, 1963.

For the Negro, the belief in the value of education for personal advancement is particularly significant. Education provides the Negro with economic and social advantages and with a definite role of leadership in the Negro community. And because the progress of any group is related to the development of leaders, the role of education is crucial to the progress of the group. Statistics showing the enrollment in higher education and educational attainment of the Negro in 1960 indicate little progress in the improvement of the relative position of the Negro in the past ten years. Three significant developments, however, in the higher education of Negroes from 1950 to 1960 are the Supreme Court decision of 1954 and its impact on higher education, the action of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools with respect to Negro colleges in the South, and the recent emphasis on quality in all education. The role of the all-Negro college in the decade ahead is also discussed; a suggested justification for its existence is that it serves a remedial function.

67. Falls, Arthur G. "The Search for Negro Medical Students." Integrated Education, vol. 1, p. 15-19. June, 1963.

The declining number of Negroes in Chicago trained in the medical profession is indicative of an inadequate school system and of discrimination in hospitals. The Chicago Board of Education must bear a primary responsibility for the declining number of medically trained Negroes. The de facto segregation of the Chicago School system has provided inferior education and produced graduates lacking either the interest or ability for higher education. Discrimination in hospitals has produced inadequate care for Negro patients. In recognizing this problem, the Committee to End Discrimination (CED) has set up programs to locate, interest, assist, and guide Negro children interested in pursuing medical or medical-related careers. CED has also begun a successful drive for legislative remedies to end discrimination in hospitals. Community concern, however, is the true realm of these problems; an end to discrimination in medicine is based on an end to segregation in education.

68. Gittell, Marilyn "A Pilot Study of Negro Middle Class Attitudes Toward Higher Education in New York." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 34, p. 385-94. Fall, 1965.

This pilot study of middle-class Negro families in Queens, involving 100 families, demonstrates the role of such factors as place of birth, level of education, and economic variables in the formation of attitudes toward higher education. One of the findings was that the largest category of parents with low goal fulfillment (based on questionnaire responses regarding the selection of a college for their children and the problems attendant to higher education) was the southern-born, lower-income, noncollege-educated group. Despite the great desire of parents for higher education for their children, there appears to be a considerable lack of adequate information on college and higher education, in general, and city colleges in particular. The author suggests an increased information program and the fostering of increased identification with city colleges as corrective measures.

69. Hare, Nathan "Conflicting Racial Orientations of Negro College Students and Professors." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 34, p. 431-34. Fall, 1965.

This study of 67 upperclassmen in three introductory sociology courses at a predominantly Negro college attempted to uncover conflicts between students and professors in enthusiasm for the discussion of racial problems. The questionnaire method was used. Background factors, including regional origins, amount of experience at integrated public schools, religious affiliation, and age, were not found to influence impressions on this subject. Socioeconomic factors, however, were significant. Middle-class students more frequently than students of working-class backgrounds regarded professors as devoting too much time to racial matters. Of the total sample, 64.1 percent held the general impression that professors devoted an excessive amount of time to discussions of race. The more optimistic the student was concerning the future of the Negro, the greater was this impression. The author suggests that the explanation for these findings can be found both in the personal experiences of Negro professors and in the ideals of the students, who are "oriented toward a dream of absolute integration and would like to escape, and forget once and for all, the factor of race in American life."

70. Harrison, E. C. "The Negro College in a Changing Economy." Journal of Higher Education, vol. 36, p. 259-65. May, 1965.

This is a crucial period in the development of Negro colleges, not only because of the generally accepted idea that higher education should serve the public interest, but also because of the changing relationship between the Negro and the general community. It is important that graduates of Negro colleges compare well with those of other institutions. Approaches are suggested to facilitate the provision of intellecutally stimulating educational climates. Problems involving program, faculty, and student must be solved by Negro colleges in order to attain academic respectability in the general community. Standards must be raised, and Negro colleges must become increasingly concerned with teaching students how "to acquire the outlook, skills, and knowledge" necessary for living in our economy and "how to develop a value system consistent with our national ideals."

71. Holland, Jerome H. "The Negro and Higher Education." NEA Journal, vol. 54, p. 22-24. March, 1965.

"As the gap narrows between the educational achievements of the white and the Negro, the social cleavage between the two continues with little change." Discrimination and segregation only partially explain why many qualified Negroes prefer to attend Negro colleges.

The author points out the higher school drop-out rate of Negroes, problems of motivating their interest in college education, and their serious underpreparation in important subject areas. Family incomes of Negroes are comparatively lower than whites, making scholarship aid necessary for many Negroes to attend college. Inadequacy of financial resources is also an explanation of why few varies; one of the biggest challenges of the Negro institution is changing curriculum to meet new employment opportunities. As open enrollment becomes a more reality, the term Negro college may disappear. Many Negro colleges have already begun to try to attract more white students.

72. Jaffe, A. J.; Adams, Walter; Meyers, Sandra G. Ethnic Higher Education--Negro Colleges in the 1960's. New York, Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1966. 144 p.

This report surveys the current status of the American Negro college and projects future developments to 1975. Employed in the study were three interrelated questionnaires that were directed respectively at students attending primarily Negro colleges, prospective college students attending southern Negro high schools, and college officials. The finding concerning the academic quality of students entering primarily Negro colleges revealed that although three-fourths were in the top half of their high school classes, three-fourths were in the bottom half of the national (white plus nonwhite students) test-score distribution. Practically all the students attending these colleges had white-collar career aspirations; more than 50 percent expected to teach, and more than two-thirds planned to leave the South for other parts of the United States following graduation. Quality ratings of the Negro colleges and analyses of admissions and recruiting practices were also made. Long-range projections are that increasing numbers of southern Negroes will swell college enrollments, primarily in the Negro colleges in the South and particularly in those rated as "poor" in quality.

74. Parker, James E. "An Assessment of the Attitudinal Climate for Newer Instructional Media Among Negro College Administrators." Negro Educational Review, vol. 14, p. 146-54. July-October, 1963.

Some 74 presidents and deans of Negro colleges responded to a 39-item attitude assessment Likert-type scale. They indicated that the general climate for change appears favorable. The administrators accept the idea that preservice teachers should have a course in audio-visual education, that there is a need for wider acceptance of newer media for instruction, and that new teachers are influenced by the extent to which they have experience with these materials in their preservice training. Summarily, although these administrators moderatly agree that recent technological developments demand a changing teacher role and that personal teacher-pupil relationships are essential in most learning situations, they appear uncertain about the consequences of technological innovations for those relationships.

75. Palmer, Roderick "General Education and the Profession-Bound Negro Student." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 33, p. 86-89. Winter, 1964.

The author suggests that educators in charge of the general education programs of the profession-bound student may need to re-evaluate their curricula. Defined as "that education which all men throughout the country should have regardless of vocation or profession," general education does not meet the needs of profession-bound Negroes. An academic program that specifically differs in its approach to the first two years of higher education is recommended. Here, the Negro student would be provided with many of the needed experiences which he may have missed. The minimum essentials of such a program include the development of communication skills; training in the history, philosophy, and methods of science; an understanding of social and political behavior; and, finally, an understanding of the historical and cultural heritage of the Negro. It is felt that such a program would contribute to increasing academic opportunity and productivity.

F. General

76. Butler, Broadus N. "Pressures on Higher Education for the Education of Disadvantaged Groups." In Pressures and Priorities in Higher Education, p. 130-33. Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual National Conference on Higher Education, March 7-10, 1965. Washington, D. C. , Association for Higher Education, 1965.

77. Derbyshire, Robert and Brody, Eugene "Social Distance and Identity Conflict in Negro College Students." Sociology and Social Research, vol. 48, p. 301-14. April, 1964.

78. Deutsch, Martin "Discussion and Critiques of Some Variables in the Social Psychology of School-to-College Transition." Journal of Educational Sociology, vol. 33, p. 300-04. February, 1960.

79. Duggan, John M. "Evaluating the Disadvantaged Student." Journal of the Association of College Admissions Counselors, vol. 10, p. 14-17. Summer, 1965.

80. Ellis, Robert A. and Lane, W. Clayton "Structural Supports for Upward Mobility." American Sociological Review, vol. 28, p. 743-56. October, 1963.

This study re-examines the social factors involved in the use of college as a mobility channel by lower class youth. The findings are based on data gathered over a four-year period from an initial sample of 194 students at Stanford University. The roots for mobility originate in the family; the catalyst for movement is more often provided by the mother's reaction to the family's status than the father's. These youths also require outside social support and direction for their college plans, a need fulfilled primarily by the schoolteacher. The authors emphasizes the important role which a teacher may play in supplementing the mobility strivings instilled by parents and in providing educational information not ordinarily available in the homes of lower-class youth. High school peers may indirectly influence these students by providing an environment in which middle-class values and norms are learned. The results of the study are in accord with Merton's hypothesis of the dissociative consequences

83. Hollinshed, Byron S. *Who Should Go To College?* New York, Columbia University Press, 1962. 190 p.

84. Huyck, Earl E. "Faculty in Predominantly White and Predominantly Negro Higher Institutions." *Journal of Negro Education*, vol. 35, p. 381-92. Fall, 1966.

A national survey of teaching faculty, conducted by the U.S. Office of Education, revealed striking differences between the faculties of predominantly Negro and predominantly white institutions. In contrast to the latter, the faculty in Negro institutions had a higher proportion of women; a minority with earned doctorates; lower academic rank and lower earnings. More members of their faculty were teaching freshmen and sophomores, and higher proportions of the faculty were teaching education, English, home economics, and physical education. These institutions evidenced a lack of orientation to research due largely to heavy teaching loads and inadequate facilities. Several recommendations are made for the future strengthening of the faculties in predominantly Negro colleges and universities.

85. Kahl, Joseph A. "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys." in Joan I. Roberts, ed., *School Children in the Urban Slum*, p. 321-33. New York, Project TRUE, Hunter College, City University of New York, 1965.

Twenty-four cases chosen from the minor white-collar, skilled and semiprofessional groups provide the basis for a discussion of "The Comman Man Class" and "Boys' Attitudes Toward School and Work." Preliminary interviews indicate that the families thought they belonged to a status level which the author terms the "common man" class. Parents did not call themselves middle class; they saw a lower class beneath them and a middle class above them. A few detected a fourth level, but they had a hazy understanding of this group. Two main criteria used by the respondents to make social distinctions between people were prestige and consumption -- the moral repute of people who lived in a certain way. There were wide variations in income, family size, and number of family members who worked. This sample of the common man had a style of life, a set of values, and a class consciousness based on a definition of social space. Fifteen families tended to view the social scheme and their place in it as morally proper and legitimate; eight said that they had not risen as high as they should have; and one man raised questions about the justice of the scheme itself. These nine families could be said to believe in the core value of "getting ahead." Against this background, boys' attitudes toward school and work and the development of their attitudes were studied. School and the possibility of college were viewed by all boys as steps to jobs. Their pragmatic approach, their view of available opportunities and of the desirability and possibility of change of status, and their goals reflected the views of their parents. Deviants got their ideas from friends, not from an abstract medium such as a book or a movie. The relation between parental pressure and sons' aspirations was considered for 24 boys. Parents paid more attention to demonstration in grammar school. The better a boy did, the better he was expected to do; but these parents were more tolerant of individual differences than were middle-class parents.

86. Lambert, Rollins E. "Race Relations on the Campus." Religious Education, vol. 59, p. 114-16. January, 1964.

This report is based on the recent experiences of a Roman Catholic chaplain on the campus of two midwestern schools. Although no discriminatory admission practices were observed, the author was struck by the dearth of Negro students. The involvement of young Jewish students in civil rights work and the comparative apathy of the Negro students were also conspicious. The principal organization dealing with race relations on the campus was CORE. The article concludes on the note that "the college campus is a good field for work in race relations, particularly for religious organizations."

90. Patterson, Frederick D. "Cooperation among the Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities." *Journal of Negro Education,* vol. 35, p. 447-84. Fall, 1966.

91. Piedmont, Eugene B. "Changing Racial Attitudes at a Southern University: 1947-1964." *Journal of Negro Education,* vol. 36, p. 32-41. Winter, 1967.

Three surveys conducted between 1947 and 1964 were analyzed, comparing white students' attitudes about desegregation at the University of Virginia. An increasing proportion of the students had favorable attitudes toward Negroes, both as students and professors, in the later surveys. Graduate and professional students as a group had more favorable attitudes than did undergraduate students. Feelings toward Negroes at the university were more unfavorable, in all surveys, than judgments concerning the possibility of taking unfavorable actions toward this group in admission procedures. Finally, students' attitudes were more favorable on the campus than away from it, further confirming earlier studies on prejudice and social contact.

92. Plaut, Richard L. "Plans for Assisting Negro Students to Enter and to Remain in College." *Journal of Negro Education,* vol. 35, p. 393-99. Fall, 1966.

93. *Quarterly Review of Higher Education among Negroes.* Charlotte, N. C., Johnson C. Smith University.

Established in 1933, this journal consistently presents articles by Negro scholars in the field of higher education and related areas, including news releases and book reviews.

94. *Review of Educational Research*, vol. 35, No. 5, p. 337-40. December, 1965.

This is an issue on "Education for Socially Disadvantaged Children."

95. Rockefeller Brothers Fund, *Prospect for America: The Rockefeller Panel Reports.* Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1961. 486 p.

This report, the result of the Special Studies Project, seeks to define the major opportunities and problems that will challenge the United States in the future, to clarify the national purposes and objectives needed to meet that challenge, and to develop a framework within which national policies and decisions can be made. A discussion of the use and misuse of human abilities is included, with suggestions for the fuller use of underprivileged minorities and the rehabilitation of economically depressed areas and segments of the population.

96. Smith, Sherman; Mathamy, Harvard V.; Milfs, Merele M. "Are Scholarships the Answer?" Alburquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1960. 89 p.

97. "Strengthening the American Academic Community." Carnegie Corporation of New York Quarterly, vol. 13, p. 1-8. January, 1965.

98. Wiggins, Sam P. "Dilemmas in Desegregation in Higher Education." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 35, p. 430-38. Fall, 1966.

ADDENDUM TO ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY by Edwina D. Frank

The articles and reports included in this document represent an addendum to an earlier annotated bibliography of the same title. The major topical headings and alphabetical designations are consistent with the preceding document. In some instances sub-topics have been added.

A. Civil Rights and Access to Higher Education

B. Programs and Practices

C. Characteristics of Disadvantaged Students

D. College Admissions and Guidance

  I. Admissions and Guidance (General): includes general references on college admissions and guidance related to higher education of the disadvantaged.

  II. Intellective Predictors of Academic Success: includes references that focus specifically on intellective predictors of academic success and higher education of the disadvantaged.

  III. Non-Intellective Predictors of Academic Success: includes references related to non-intellective predictors of academic success.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Civil Rights and Access to Higher Education

1. Berdie, Ralph. What Priority Should Govern the College Admissions of Students From Economically Disadvantaged and Socially Deprived Backgrounds When Weighed Against the Goal of Excellence? Case study presented at the 20th National Conference on Higher Education sponsored by the Association on Higher Education, Chicago, Illinois, March 9, 1965.

A presentation of a case study that attempts to reflect the social pressures of the modern university. In response to the expanding world of knowledge the university is demanding that its students be better prepared for college work than ever before. At the same time the university is seeking students from backgrounds that do little to encourage the development of communication skills, study habits and attitudes, academic motivation and appreciation of the humanities. The author's case presentation includes some bases of the university's dilemma, and the findings of research regarding the relationships between the characteristics on which college admissions are based.

The author concludes the case study with questions rather than answers to the "dilemma" of the university. Questions include: (1) If promising students from disadvantaged backgrounds and educational deficiencies are to be encouraged and enabled to attend college, how will the institution, whose resources are already overtaxed, devote larger amounts of energy, time, and money to aid each student to overcome or compensate for his deficiencies? (2) Can our colleges maintain goals of excellence for all intellectually promising students regardless of deficient backgrounds? (3) Can they actually commit themselves to the goals of a new society or must they, because of lack of both resources and imagination, at the same time welcome and then fail the disadvantaged?

2. Commission on Higher Educational Opportunity in the South. The Negro and Higher Education in the South, Atlanta: Southern Regional Education Board, August, 1967, 48 p.

The general conditions and needs of the South in providing equal educational opportunity for all are summarized in this report. The curriculums, instruction and organization and operation of predominantly Negro colleges are reviewed, and suggestions are made for their improvement, increased support and coordination. General recommendations concern planning, providing mass opportunities, and facilitating student progress.

3. Foreman, Paul B. "Race Confronts the University," The Journal of General Education, vol. 20, p. 81-95, July, 1968.

The author approaches the impact of the ghetto on the university from the standpoint of Kenneth Clark's statement in "Dark Ghetto" that, "major changes in the race policies of institutional systems are usually responses to outside forces, seldom responses to self-criticism or internal effort." The idea that universities should have race policies or at least know what effect their operations have on race relations might have recently sounded like "wild-eyed" radicalism but San Francisco State offers a case in point that changes the situation considerably. Since the world outside can in reality impose conditions that necessitate the definition of university policy, such policy cannot be arrived at solely within the confines of the wisdom of the university. Institutional talents and resources must relate to the grass roots needs. Formal policy statement is important, such statements can activate intramural effort as well as a sense of aspiration to people in need of it. The author further discusses the problem of programming race into university operations and suggests that traditional systems of academic organization are not well set up to get at the problem of race in the necessary depth and scope. Suggested solutions are that colleges should center more on public service and the responsibility for "race projects" should be dispersed throughout several colleges and departments, thus engaging the scattered talents of people rather than delegating responsibility to deans and division heads. It is also suggested that models exist in university developments that offer strategies for planning and policy in university commitment in race relations; these models include: Charles Johnson's strategy in his days at Fisk, the new college at the University of Oregon, Dan Dodson's pioneering enterprise at New York University, Washington, D.C. university consortium, the Tuskegee-Michigan compact and many others. In conclusion, the author suggests that "such interplay of what Clark called outside forces and internal effort would clearly demand a type of university management that is tuned to emergent strategies."

4. Leeson, Jim, Desegregation: Checking on College Compliance, Southern Education Report, April 3, 1968.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare is using computerized questionnaire responses from 2,900 public and private colleges to discover instances of racial discrimination in programs receiving federal aid. Colleges whose replies showed "potential noncompliance" to Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act in admissions, housing, student aid and employment, athletics or social structure, or those larger colleges in substantial minority communities that have a minority enrollment below one percent, will be visited twice by the U.S. Office for Civil Rights (OCR) officials for observation. OCR observers will then confer to analyze the problems and make recommendations. OCR expects colleges to engage in active recruitment in minority communities. Even if few students can qualify now, the recruitment effort inspires younger students to prepare for college. OCR encourages accepting students whose latent abilities can be developed by tutoring and counseling.

5. Southern Education Foundation, A Fourth of the Negro Collegians Attend Predominantly White Schools, Atlanta: Southern Education Report, 1968,3 (April), p. 40

Statistics from the U. S. Office of Civil Rights desegregation survey last fall showed that the 134,600 Negro college students in 17 Southern and border states comprise 11 percent of those states' college population. One-fourth attended predominantly white schools, two-thirds were in the chiefly black school, and less than 16,000 attended all-black schools. In Southern states, although nine-tenths of black students were in biracial schools, the percentage of Mississippi Negroes in biracial schools was only 38. The percentage of Negroes in predominantly white schools ranged from less than 10 percent in Mississippi, Georgia and Alabama to more than 40 percent in Texas and Florida.

B. Programs and Practices

6. Egerton, John, Higher Education for "High Risk" Students, Atlanta, Ga., Southern Education Foundation, 1968.

The major purpose of this study was to discover what some of the predominantly white, four-year colleges and universities are doing to make higher education available to low-income and minority-group students who lack the credentials but not the qualities to succeed in college. Data were gathered from 159 predominantly white institutions, 84 of which reported some involvement in programs for high risk students. Discussed are such issues as the extent of the colleges' commitment, the rationale behind the involvement or lack of involvement of the colleges in these programs, and approaches used with high risk students. The extent and success of programs for high risk students in eight public and five private colleges are specifically described, with brief mention given to several additional programs. Included is a list of agencies and organizations concerned with increasing higher education opportunities for disadvantaged students.

The problem of dealing with "high risk" students varies with the individual institutions involved. Large public institutions without rigid entrance requirements and with rising enrollment pressure have had to deal with budgetary restrictions by failing a large proportion of students. Such a policy works against the "high risk" student. Harvard University's high risk program of about 10 years duration has had 80-85% of the "gambles" graduate with their class. However, not so successful was N.Y.U.'s 1965 experimental program with 60 "high risk" students. Only 15 of these students were still enrolled after one year. A sufficiently supportive program had not been provided to enable students to develop their latent potential.

7. Hoffman, Benjamin, A Question of Potential and Motivation: A Study of Submerged Talent and the Problems of Recognition and Development. Office of Institutional Research, Syracuse University, April, 1967.

Syracuse University admitted 241 "General Studies" students in its College of Liberal Arts in the years 1961-1962 through 1963-1964. About half of these students placed in the middle achievements of their high school judged by class rank, and their average College Board scores were under 500 in mathematics section and 400 in the verbal section. All placed below the achievement of the regular freshmen admitted to the college, yet proportionately as many were graduated from the program four years later. The current trend toward an "open door" admissions policy is compatible with democratic concepts of equal opportunity for higher education rather than a demonstrated ability qualification. This policy will help make college possible for the "submerged talent" group, sometimes called "late bloomers." Submerged talent as defined here is distinct from demonstrated but disadvantaged talent. The group includes the bicultural, the isolated, the highly mobile, the slow readers and the multilingual. Submerged talent is generally absent from colleges because colleges demand demonstrated ability even though grade point averages may have little to do with later contributions to society. In selecting one form of ability (test passing), colleges are in danger of excluding equally or even more important desirable characteristics, such as those of the late-maturing dreamer.

C. Characteristics of Disadvantaged Students

8. City College of San Francisco, Academic Characteristics of Negro Students Enrolled at City College of San Francisco. City College of San Francisco, Spring, 1968.

This document reports a study of Negro students at City College of San Francisco (CCSF) designed to ascertain their academic characteristics, ways in which they differ significantly from the general student population of the college, and types of programs that might be developed to meet their special needs. Records of 285 Negro students were selected at random and examined. The sample represented approximately 20% of the Negro student population attending CCSF. Although there was some overlap, the mean performance of Negro students on entrance tests was lower than that of the general student population. Greater proportions of Negro students were subject to enrollment in required courses in English and arithmetic than was true of the college as a whole. Of the Negro students, 60% were not achieving the expected C average, although their overall grade average was C minus. The need for special attention to the improvement of basic academic skills was greater for Negro students than for other students at the institution. For each student in the sample were obtained data concerning his sex, high school, origin, scores on SCAT and reading and English expression tests, English and arithmetic status, units attempted, units earned, grade point and grade point average. The investigators concluded that it would appear that among students in the group represented by the sample the need for special attention to the improvement of basic academic skills is even greater than that of City College students in general.

9. Fichter, Joseph H., Graduates of Predominantly Negro Colleges: Class of 1964, Publication No. 1571, U. S. Public Health Service, 1967, p. 77-124.

This report presents the results of a survey of students who received baccalaureate degrees in spring, 1964, from 50 U.S. institutions primarily attended by Negro students. The sample included 5,000 students who returned the mailed questionnaire; nearly 50 % of the questionnaires were returned. The replying educated Negro women expected to combine familial and occupational roles. Attitudes of Negro men and women toward marriage, child rearing and the wife's working were closer than those of white men and white women. More Negro women than white expected to go from college to career than directly to marriage. Neither extent of schooling nor employment appeared to postpone or reduce the number of children for Negro women, as they do for white. The field that notably attracted more Negro women than white was social work (rather than teaching as often believed). Lower class Negroes expressed more self-confidence than white students regarding jobs they believed they could do. Women from better-educated families had a tendency to choose the humanities and social sciences over teaching whereas women from the "poorer" cultural backgrounds and with the poorest academic standings selected teaching. Negro college graduates felt that there was a disadvantage of attending southern universities, those from public Negro colleges were somewhat dissatisfied with their school. In general, the group felt that they would have gotten more from eastern Ivy League colleges or large state universities outside of the South.

10. Hines, Ralph H., "Social Distance Components in Integration Attitudes of Negro College Students." The Journal of Negro Education, vol 37, p. 23-30. Winter, 1968.

The purpose of this study was to test the willingness of black undergraduates to associate with Caucasians. A questionnaire designed to measure ethnic preferences was administered to 1,000 students enrolled in predominantly Negro institutions in Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia. It was concluded that younger men students evidenced greater inclination toward social nearness than did older men, while the opposite was true for the women. The black students indicated greater preference for integrated situations regarding jobs and education. In situations such as dating, marriage, residential area, church and other social situations, association with blacks was preferred over association with whites. In making a comparative preference for interaction with six groups (Caucasians, Jews, American Indians, Mexicans, Italians and Chinese) the students preferred interaction with whites. The students' general preference for interaction was attributed to the position of the whites as a favored and powerful group in America, a position toward which Negroes aspire.

11. Kiernan, I.R. and Daniels, R.P., "Signs of Social Change Through an Exploratory Study of 23 Negro Students in a Community College." The Journal of Negro Education, 1967, 36(Spring), p. 129-135.

The findings of this report are based on 23 Negro students of the lower SES between ages 18 and 24 who used the counseling office in a community college between 1960 and 1964. Admission test scores and psychiatric diagnoses for this group were the same as similar measures for the general college body; however, the percentage of failures and dropouts for the Negro students was extremely high. Seven of the 23 graduated, 12 were dropped for failure to maintain academic standards and 4 withdrew voluntarily. The investigators suggest that this failure to complete college appears to slow down the rate of social change one might expect from the fact that Negro students were attending college and studying in career fields noted for upward mobility for other ethnic minorities. In contrast to other groups, the grip of lower-class cultural attitudes and behavior on these students seemed a determinant of failure to complete college. It is also reported that among the group there was much bitterness, anxiety, self-hatred and rejection of both the former (lower-class) group and the group to which they aspired (middle-class). The authors suggest that these reactions were due to value conflict as a result of the attempted transition.

12. Littig, Lawrence W., A Study of Certain Personality Correlates of Occupational Aspirations of Negro and White College Students. Final Report, June, 1968.

The Negro male college student's social class, achievement motivations, affiliation motivations (the desire for approval of others), and power motivations (the desire to control the behavior of others) all affect to some degree his choice of a traditionally open occupation (physician, lawyer, dentist, minister, social worker, teacher) or an occupation traditionally closed to Negroes (nuclear physicist, psychologist, airline pilot, engineer). To test the relationship of each of these factors to occupational goals, questionnaires were filled out in which the student estimated the job he expected to have five years after completing his education (his "real" aspiration), and the job he would most like to have (his ideal aspiration). Motivation was measured by analysis of a projective test. The subjects were 140 male college students from 3 colleges, 2 of which were designated working class and 1 of which was deemed middle class. College social class was based on the predominance of students from middle class or working class backgrounds. A white middle class control sample of 70 students was used. It was found that social class, strong achievement and power motivation dispose Negroes at working class colleges to seek jobs in traditionally closed fields, whereas middle class students tended to aspire to traditionally open occupations.

13. Maddox; George L., "Drinking Behavior Among Negro Collegians: A Study of Selected Males," Abstracts of Proceedings, American Sociological Association, San Francisco, p. 157-158, August, 1967.

This report presents the results of a study of the drinking behavior of 261 freshmen males entering a southern, state supported Negro college. Interviews revealed that 76 percent of the group drank and 27 percent drank heavily; the average age of the group was 18.7. Nearly half drank with the intent of modifying reality. Panel data from the sophomore year revealed that while lighter drinkers continued their pattern for both years, some of the heavier drinkers attempted to abstain, also a majority of the abstainees became drinkers. The investigator concludes that , "data indicate that these drinkers do not simply assume a role while drinking, but are in the process of role making."

14. Orbell, John M., "Protest Participation Among Southern Negro College Students." American Political Science Review, vol. 61, p. 446-456, June, 1967.

A study of protest participation among 264 Negro students attending predominantly Negro southern institutions revealed that 83 had either participated in freedom rides or belonged to protest organizations. The vast majority of the total group were from low-socio-economic Southern rural homes and attended state supported "low-quality" institutions. The majority of the protesters came from middle socio-economic urban homes and attended private "high-quality" institutions. The percentage of Negroes in a county population was inversely related to number of county students participating in protest activities, and the protestors had experienced more interactions with whites than had other students. The author concludes that, "the closer Negroes are to the white society, the more likely they are to take part in protest actions. Such an explanation serves to integrate existing theories based on personality, economic status, and psychological factors."

15. Shelton, Florence, "Some Impressions of Fair Harvard Blacks." Harvard Journal of Negro Affairs, vol. 1, p. 18, February, 1965.

This study undertook to elicit responses of what it meant socially and psychologically to be a Negro at Harvard from students matriculating there during 1963-1964. Fifteen young men of 64, 65, 66 and 67 classes were interviewed. Response to the question, "Why Harvard selected you?" reflected some students as proud of their academic achievements, whereas others revealed a kind of self-abasement or modesty. The author goes on to explain that those who expressed self-abasing attitudes attributed their selection to external circumstances rather than personal qualifications. "One wonders about the social and psychological experiences of a student who feels that the standards which most other students had to meet were not applied to him and perhaps a few more like him." In response to a question designed to determine if students felt that they were treated differently some students reported the presence of relationships that they felt to be patronizing or condescending. Others indicated that they were not aware of differential treatment. With respect to social orientation, "the majority of those interviewed is toward a predominantly black social world." The investigator concludes that the circumstances prevailing at Harvard 10 or 15 years ago which contributed to a self-conscious clique of blacks no longer exists.

D. College Admissions and Guidance

1. Admissions and Guidance (General)

16. Plaut, Richard, "Searching and Salvaging Talent Among Socially Disadvantaged Populations." (In Guidance for Socially and Culturally Disadvantaged Children and Youth.) Proceedings of the Second Annual Invitational Conference on Urban Education, p. 68-78, 1963.

Because Negroes comprise less than one percent of the interracial population, educators must try to identify the many capable disadvantaged Negro high school students and encourage them to attend integrated colleges. The National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS), in a short-term approach to this problem, advises high school seniors about admissions and scholarship opportunities in integrated colleges.

Within a 14-year period, NSSFNS had helped 8500 students enroll in 350 accredited 4-year colleges, with over $3,700,000 in scholarships. Despite relatively low national achievement and aptitude scores, these students had successful college careers and achieved consistently beyond the level predicted for them. The long-term approach initiated by NSSFNS encourages school personnel to identify and motivate talented disadvantaged youth earlier than the twelfth grade. In this connection, the New York City Board of Education successfully established a six-year demonstration guidance project in Junior High School 43 and George Washington High School. More students in the project enrolled in college than non-project students, and most of the early project graduates continued their education beyond high school in some form. Other projects have grown out of the original demonstration project, but their effectiveness depends on availability of funds.

II. Intellective Predictors of Academic Success

17. Asbury, Charles, "Some Selected Problems in Assessing the Intelligence and Achievement of Disadvantaged Groups: With Emphasis on the Negro." *The Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes*, vol. 36, p. 294-307, Spring, 1968.

This report is the result of an investigation of the literature relating to the performance of disadvantaged groups on standardized tests. The author sought to determine the influence of three groups of factors on the performance of the groups on standardized tests of intelligence and achievement. The three groups of factors are: cultural factors, motivational factors, and factors resulting from limitations or differences in cognitive development. It was concluded that:

1. No one single factor could be isolated as the cause of low test performance scores.
2. Verbal facility and perceptual ability are two of the most crucial factors of the cognitive domain reflected in test performance.

3. Intelligence development varies with the richness, variety and complexity of the environment over relatively extended periods of time.

4. Low test scores are often a reflection of a negative self-concept and insufficient motivation.

5. The work of the school and the practical intellect of the disadvantaged are often operating as contradictory forces.

6. Use of logical thought processes is aborted with this being reflected in test performance.

7. Assessment instruments used with disadvantaged groups often possess only minimal validity and reliability.

18. Buszek, Beatrice R., "Differential Treatment of Test Scores." College and University, vol. 43, p. 294-307, Spring, 1968.

Aptitude and achievement scores of 588 freshmen at a predominantly Negro, non-sectarian, coeducational college in Virginia were correlated with college grades to identify tests which best predicted academic achievement. A multiple regression analysis of Otis I.A., Scholastic Aptitude Test (VM - VMIT) scores of these students with their cumulative grade-point averages revealed the CAT-M to be the best single predictor of grades for the total group studied and for the men in the group. Grades of women and of students from the Northeast were best predicted by the Otis I.A., while grades of foreign students or students from the South were best predicted by the SAT-M. Region or origin and sex affect the degree to which particular aptitude or achievement tests predict college grades of Negro students.

19. Kendrick, S.A., "Verbal Ability an Obsolete Measure." Council Journal, vol. 6, no. 6, March 1968 [ED 021929].

Current enrollment figures indicate that segregation in American colleges and universities is still prevalent. One-half of Negro college students are attending predominantly Negro colleges and most of the rest are attending junior colleges or "open door" schools. There is considerable competition among selective colleges to recruit the very small group of Negro high school seniors with acceptable scholastic aptitude test scores. If such institutions want to increase their admissions number of Negro students they will have to reevaluate their competitive performance policies and consider the establishment of separate courses or curriculums of varying difficulty to accommodate a student body with different capabilities. The persistent stress on verbal ability as an indicator of scholastic achievement is in need of reexamination by institutions that want to integrate. These colleges must be willing to accept other kinds of competence as measures of academic achievement.

20. Porter, Andrew and Stanley, Julian, A Comparison of the Predictability of Academic Success of Negro College Students with that of White College Students. University of Georgia Area Conference, 1967.

The purpose of this study was to test the predictive validity of the Scholastic Aptitude Test as it relates to measuring the aptitude of minority group high school students who have restricted environmental backgrounds. A comparison was made of the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) verbal and SAT mathematical scores with the freshman grade-point averages of Negro and white groups. The Negro population was selected from three southern Negro state colleges, and the white population was selected from three non-Negro colleges who had the lowest average score on both forms of the SAT. Only three analyses were made. It was concluded that there were significant predictive validities associated with race, subtest and year. The interaction of sex and race did show some differences.

For the criterion of freshman grade-point average non-Negro women were found to be more predictable than either Negro women or men who in turn were more predictable than non-Negro men.

III. Non-Intellective Predictors of Academic Success

21. Abe, Cliffors, "A Factor Analytic Study of Some Non-Intellectual Indices of Academic Achievement." Journal of Educational Measurement, vol. 3, p. 39-43, Spring, 1966.

This report discusses a factor analytic study of biographical and interest data which was performed to suggest some of the dimensions of academic achievement. The investigator speculates that some non-intellective measures may also provide some understanding of personal traits necessary for success even if they fail to add a substantial increment to the predictive equation.

The sample consisted of scores of 7,262 freshmen college students drawn from a larger sample obtained in earlier test administration to students from 31 colleges. The American College Survey contains 1,004 items concerned with students' interests, potential for various kinds of achievements and other orientations, attitudes and other kinds of orientations. There were nine indices of academic achievement used in this study including ACT scores, college grades, and high school grades in four areas (English, mathematics, social studies and natural science). All of these are measures normally used in the admission procedure. Eighty-seven items from the American College Survey concerning interests and activities were included in the factor analysis.

The investigator concludes that many factors are involved in academic achievement, and that no single measure is an adequate measure for all. Scales could be developed to predict English, mathematics and natural science achievement. Although the investigator does not relate the findings to specific groups of college students, the implications and instrument might warrant consideration in the search for non-intellectual indices of academic achievement for the disadvantaged. (A 6-page table giving the names of the complete rotated factor matrix is available on microfilm or photo copies for $1.25. American Documentation Institution, Document No. 8850, Chief, Photoduplicating Service, Library of Congress.

22. Atchison, Calvin O., "Relationships Between Some Intellectual and Non-Intellectual Factors of High Anxiety and Low Anxiety Negro College Students." The Journal of Negro Education, vol. 37, p. 174-178, Spring, 1968.

One hundred and sixty sophomores enrolled in an educational psychology course at Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State University were administered the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale (TMAS). The Rotter Incomplete Sentence Blank (ISB) was administered to determine an index of adjustment according to the degree of conflict expressed in sentences. Cumulative grade-point averages were obtained as an index of achievement, and the Otis Quick Scoring Test of Mental Ability was used to obtain I.Q. scores.

Fifty-one subjects scoring 0 to 11 on the TMAS were designated low-anxiety students. Low-anxiety students had higher I.Q.'s and lower ISB scores than did high-anxiety students, but grade-point averages were the same for the two groups. For the low-anxiety group, significant positive correlations (r's under .20) were found between the anxiety scores and grade-point averages and between grade-point averages and ISB scores. All other correlations among either the low or high-anxiety students were positive but non-significant.

23. Burnham, Paul S., Prediction and Performance from High School to College, Reading for Counselors. College Entrance Examination Board, New York, 1965, p. 65-71.

Data confirmed in a Yale University study indicate that in the field of academic prediction both student ability and performance can be measured with a fair degree of reliability and that secondary school and college performance in similar tasks will be related. Analysis of data revealed that high school records combined with the College Board record resulted in a prediction index which had a higher validity from either of the two predictors taken separately. So far the inclusion of personality measures in intellective predictions has not proven important for use in selection. However, differentiating between "intellective and non-intellective" predictive criteria can be useful in determining how "non-intellective" factors or personality characteristics affect academic achievement. A means of identifying, classifying and determining the degree of reliability of "non-intellective" factors should be sought in order to aid students in adapting to college. (The author does not relate the findings to higher education of the disadvantaged; however, the implications seem relevant to current efforts being made toward identifying predictors of academic success for disadvantaged youth.)

24. Gill, Lois and Spilka, Bernard, "Some Non-Intellectual Correlates of Academic Achievement Among Mexican-American Secondary School Students." Underachievement, ed. by Milton Kornich, Springfield Illinois, Charles C. Thomas, 1965, p. 102-110.

The purpose of this study was to determine personal and maternal correlates of academic achievement among Mexican-American secondary school students. Four groups (fifteen each) of achieving and low achieving boys and girls were identified and equated in age, I.Q. level and courses taken. Employing standard objective measures it was shown that achievers manifested reliably less hostility and more social maturity, intellectual efficiency, and conformity to rules. Achieving girls and under-achieving boys appear to come from strong mother-dominated homes. The investigators suggest that since these findings seem meaningful with respect to this subculture, such study of achievement in minority groups may better clarify the nature of relationships among hypothesized variables.

25. Lunneborg, Clifford E., Biographic Variables in Differential vs. Absolute Prediction. Unpublished Report, University of Washington, Bureau of Testing Services, March, 1968.

A study was made of the usefulness of biographic variables in two systems of predicting several academic achievement criteria. In 1965, five hundred twenty-six University of Washington freshmen were administered the Washington Pre-College (WPC) test battery. Twelve WPC subject area test scores were combined with cumulative high school GPA's in 6 areas and 17 biographic items to predict first-year college GPA's in each of 12 course areas. Both an absolute prediction system choosing predictors to achieve the highest average correlation across criteria and a differential prediction system choosing predictors to best account for differences among criteria were constructed by selecting variables most highly predicting GPA in the 12 chosen areas.

The best predictors for the absolute system came from prior academic achievements while the best predictors for the differential system were predominantly biographic -- e.g., parental education and income, cultural interests and attitudes toward higher education. Institutional decisions regarding the likelihood of student success in a given major area, for example, are best made by the absolute system based on achievement-related predictors. Individual student decisions between alternative activities, for example, are best assisted by employing the differential prediction system, since idiosyncratic variables tend to be important in such situations. Although the study was not related to the disadvantaged student it may be of interest to those concerned with predictive variables for this group.

26. Newall, John, "Performance by High and Low Risk College Freshmen on Measures of Creativity." Tufts University, Medford, Mass., Office of Education (D.H.E.W.) Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research, 1966.

To examine the use of creativity measures as supplementary, supportative data in college admission procedures, and to examine the relationship between level of aspiration measures, actual college performance, and creativity measure performance, 18 high- and low-risk freshmen entering Tufts University completed three creativity measures and the Worell level of aspiration scale in September, 1964, and repeated the Worell scale in February, 1965. Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores predicted grade-point averages (GPA), and advisor creativity ratings were obtained for each subject. The three measures of "creativity" were taken from Getzells and Jackson's Creativity and Intelligence. The three tests used were: Word Association Test, The Uses Test and the Make-Up Problems Test. The results of this study suggest that creativity measures would not provide useful admissions information in Tufts University, but do suggest that aspiration level measures may provide useful information in predicting college performance. The low-risk group exhibited higher levels of aspiration, more realistic estimates of aspiration level, and superior performance on the SAT and GPA's when compared with the high-risk group. Advisor ratings were not found useful. The authors do not report the ethnic background of the groups studied -- however, they do report differential results for males and females.

(Worell Level of Aspiration Scale -- Asks each subject to respond on a ten-point rating scale to five questions. The Worell Scale is designed to allow the subject to predict not only his future performance but also to predict how well he is performing relative to others. This scale had been found to be valuable in differentiating between high and low achievers in a college situation. It is described in more detail in The Journal of

Educational Psychology, 1959, 50, p. 47-57, "Level of Aspiration and Academic Success" by L. Worell.)

27. Talbot, David, "Improved Self-Concept -- A Psychological Emancipation." Detroit Convention Abstracts, American Personnel and Guidance Association, Washington: The Association, April, 1968, p. 404.

Problems of educating culturally disadvantaged students have been documented in a large body of literature. The view that the key to successful education is in an improved self-concept seems most promising. Research is needed to isolate factors which predict the disadvantaged who retain a defeatist self-concept and those who overcome it.

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